THAT MAN DAWES

By PAUL R. LEACH

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Vice President Charles Gates Dawes. His favorite campaign picture, 1924; used by permission of the artist, John Doctoroff.

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THAT MAN DAWES

The Story of a Man who has placed his Name High among the Great of the World in this Generation because he ruled his Life by Common Sense.

By PAUL R. LEACH

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THAT MAN DAWES

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THAT MAN DAWES

CHAPTER ONE

It was a most unusual party. There were ten guests who counted, all under a dozen years of age, and they sat at a round table with their host and hostess in the dining room of the old brick Georgian mansion in Evanston. Out in the great hall, where stern bronze busts of the military heroes of the world war frown upon a formidable battery of trench artillery, the parents of the important guests sat at dinner, out of sight and out of hearing. They could not utter a single "Don't."

There was ice cream in funny molds, and paper caps, one of which the twinkly-eyed host wore, too, as he ate—what time he did not spend in burning matches as fast as he could light them over a queer pipe that would not stay lit. There were paper horns, and false faces, and rattles that looked like tin frying pans.

Before the parents realized dinner was finished

there was a commotion, a gale of barely suppressed laughs and squeals and giggles, and through the big hall from the dining room marched a strange procession. The host was in the lead, a gaunt man, his overcoat flapping at his calves, a soft hat crowding a paper chapeau out of place on his head. In one hand he held a striped horn. To the front door they marched, stepping gaily because it was Halloween, and nobody knew what was to follow.

"Here," one startled parent cried, as he saw his grinning son pass, "what is that in your pocket?"

"Soap!" the hopeful replied.

"But you promised me you would not soap any windows!"

"Yes—but Dad, 'The General' gave it to me!"

That settled that. Out of the front door of the big house went the macabre parade, Indian file, with the Vice President of the United States, Charles Gates Dawes, leading like the Pied Piper of Hamelin Town. They snake-danced across the park-like yard, where the boys of Evanston play ball with this same gentleman. Out upon Sheridan road they straggled, blowing their horns, rattling their frying pans, screaming and laughing and giggling. Into the front door of the house next door they went, making more noise than ever, and out the back door—across lots to another back door, and through to the front, and so invading

three staid Sheridan road homes of staid Evanston they went, tooting and rattling and laughing, and dabbing a window here and there with soap.

The excitement was over in fifteen minutes, but what a Halloween party it was! There was a picture show later in the big hall, and then the host and hostess, wistful-eyed, bade farewell to their guests. Whereupon That Man Dawes sat down near his shaded gas Welsbach lamp, a log flickering on the grate, with two other men who have retained some of that almost forgotten art of conversation. They discussed Gustav Le Bon's theories of mob psychology, Caesar's tactics in the Gallic wars as compared to those of Foch in the world war, and the mooted Rule Twenty-Two of the United States Senate, until two o'clock in the morning.

If there were to be not another page of this book, that incident would explain several of the many sides of the man who dares to play with children, who has been lawyer, engineer, utility developer, banker, soldier, statesman, author, financier, fiscal expert, budgeteer, Vice President of his country and ambassador to the Court of St. James.

And musician, the biographer must add hastily, lest he forget.

Five newspaper writers were with "The Gen-

eral" throughout his campaign in 1924 for the Vice Presidency. They had written thousands of words about him, about *Melody* which he had composed for piano, and which Fritz Kreisler arranged for violin to include in his concerts, saying it was as fine as Dvorák's *Humoresque*. They had heard him talk music, talk about playing music, but they had not yet, as they returned with him to his home after a dinner they had given in his honor on the night before election, heard any concrete evidence of his musicianship.

"Let's hear you play something," one of the men suggested, as they sat in the big library, while Dawes turned the knobs of a new radio set trying vainly to get President Coolidge's speech from Washington.

"Nope!" was the laconic response.

"Ask him," a newspaper wife whispered, "to play his *Melody*."

The request was forwarded. A wry grin was the only result. He had heard countless brass bands murder it during the campaign. For a quarter of an hour the five, aided by their wives, badgered the candidate until they were beginning to believe that perhaps he really could not play. Finally Dawes went to the piano and with nothing on the music rack played most of the first act score of Puccini's opera, *Madame Butterfly*.

The boy who had to violate orders with the cake

of soap set about, three years later, to lick any boy on the North Shore of Chicago who even intimated that anyone other than Dawes would be nominated by the Republicans in 1928 as candidate for President of the United States. The boy's personal and direct campaign, which netted him at least one black eye, and the satisfaction, too, of more than one fight well and valiantly won, gave rise to a saying among parents along Chicago's North Shore that if " 'The General' were to campaign only for the juvenile vote there would be no need for a national nominating convention."

But "The General" did not enter the campaign of 1928 because, for one reason, he had long before given his word to his friend, Frank Orren Lowden: "If you are ever a candidate for President, I'm going to be for you."

Approaching the story of this man Dawes is like looking at a cut diamond and wondering which facet to start counting from. Paradoxical he has been and will continue to be. Although he was born shortly after the Civil War, on August 27, 1865, at Marietta, Ohio, there is still much of the boy's love of fun in his make-up, and much of the boy's habit of straight thinking, too. Common horse sense and straight thinking through to a conclusion, coupled with a ravenous appetite for facts, were distinctive assets which made him almost as valuable in the winning of the world war as John

J. Pershing. Although he has earned millions of dollars, he could give many a Marxian socialist viewpoints on humanity—and humility. He has walked and talked and worked with the greatest men of his time, yet he can take advice from his chauffeur. He snarls and rages at the stupidity, and cupidity of small bore politicians—he dismissed such in his 1924 campaign as "Peewits"—yet he can sit down with them and tell them stories and listen to their stories and get them to do what he believes should be done.

He has done many apparently impetuous things —but after mature deliberation. At various times since the world war he has been catapulted into international "page one" newspaper publicity. People who disliked Dawes because of his direct speech (and direct speaking of truth always annoys a certain brand of human being), would shake their heads and smile at his latest "stunt." But when the initial amazement had passed, it would be found by those who could see, that he had achieved publicity, not so much for himself as for something he was calling attention to—figuratively, standing up and pointing to a dead cat on the public parlor floor, demanding that it be removed and telling how it should be removed. If possible he would remove it himself.

It has been popular among certain writers in dealing with public figures in recent years to dis-

miss contradictory phases of their make-up by dubbing them mysteries. Mr. Dawes has not been a mystery. It is true that he has been a paradox in many instances; but what human worth knowing is not a paradox?

Children at the parties given for them at the Dawes home in Evanston have noticed his partiality to boys. No matter how charming may be the little girls who are there, he apparently does not remember them from one appearance to the next, but he never forgets a live boy. He has worked with the world's mightiest, in man's mightiest work—the making of war, the repairing of war's damage to men and nations, the remodeling of governmental processes, and supervision over the United States Senate. He is happiest when with children—with boys.

Many youngsters of Chicago's North Shore owe their start in the Boy Scout movement to his interest, for "gang" after "gang" below the minimum age for scouting formed groups and had their meetings in the Evanston house as "Cubs," joining troops when they reached the required age of 12 years. His only son, Rufus Fearing Dawes, was to return to Princeton in a few days for his senior year when he died in the waters of Lake Geneva, north of Chicago in Wisconsin, on September 5, 1912. The passing of this son seared deeply into the hearts of the parents. The father had pointed

his life around this son. "I have taken him with me among the greatest in the nation and looked in vain for any evidence in him of awe or even curiosity. He has taken me, asking me to help them, among the poor and lowly of earth," he wrote in a tribute to his son, which was read at the funeral services by the Reverend W. T. McElveen.*

In that paragraph is some explanation of the subsequent events in the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Dawes. Social prominence, which they could have enjoyed as leaders in Chicago along the North Shore, and in Washington, meant little or nothing to them. They erected memorials to Rufus Fearing Dawes which they believed would have pleased him—hotels, homes for "The Poor and Lowly."

Perhaps the loss of this son may explain in some degree the attitude that close friends of Charles Dawes have noticed in recent years. No matter how great the honors that have come his way, he has seemed to take very little personal interest in them, as honors. His interest lay in doing things, but his boy could not be there to share the honors.

Their only other child, Carolyn, married a boy-

(*) See Appendix for text of this tribute, which has been reprinted by The National Young Men's Christian Association and distributed throughout the country.

hood sweetheart who was a close friend of Rufus Fearing Dawes, Melvin B. Ericson, who has made his fortune as a manufacturer of automobile accessories. Their home is a five minute walk from the old brick Georgian mansion. Shortly after the passing of the son, Mr. and Mrs. Dawes adopted a boy and girl, Dana McCutcheon Dawes, and Virginia Dawes. A dominant characteristic of the Dawes family—or the Dawes families, to be more exact—is a close home life. And there is ample background for that sort of home life.

The four Dawes brothers and two sisters were born in Marietta, Ohio, and raised in an old frame house with a big yard around it. One might suspect in looking at it in later years, with its shade trees, shrubbery and old-fashioned yellow and red rose bushes, that there might have been a few pieces of iron statuary in the front yard—an alert spotted deer, a Newfoundland dog or at least a rabbit or two whose principal mission on earth was to be something for boys to stub their bare toes against.

It was here that Brevet Brigadier General Rufus R. Dawes, coming out of the Civil War, in which he rose to the command of Wisconsin's "Iron Brigade," established his family. Distinctly it was an American family with the ideas and ideals that pervaded those thousands and thousands of homes of children of the pioneers who had come from

Virginia and the Yankee states, following the independence of the Colonies, to wrest the broad acres and rolling countrysides, the forests and the woodlots, from the wilderness to make the Middle West. Such as they were the backbone of a nation growing great.

The first of the Dawes family, named William, came from England in 1635 to settle in Connecticut. In 1745 was born another William Dawes, first of the name to rise to fame in the history of young America, for it was this William Dawes who rode with the immortalized Paul Revere on the night of April 18, 1775, to warn the colonists in the Boston neighborhood that the British had landed. William Dawes galloped from Boston to Concord, according to historical data brought to light some twenty years ago, escaping the capture that was Revere's temporary fate near Lexington.

Longfellow's poem made Revere a historical figure, for Paul Revere was a metrical name. William Dawes would not go so well in rhyme. Perhaps Longfellow was ignorant of the Dawes ride.

Following the first William Dawes in this country, in their genealogical order, there were Ambrose; Thomas; William; William, Jr., the rider of '75; William Mears; Henry B.; and Rufus R., the father of Charles G. Dawes.

The mother of Charles Dawes was Mary Gates

Dawes, the daughter of a son of a family that numbered eleven children. Old Springfield, Massachusetts, records tell of the destruction by Indians of the home of Simon Beman, her maternal great grandfather. Aaron Gates, of East Hartland, Massachusetts, was the father of Beman Gates, who went west, settling in lower Ohio. Beman Gates was the father of Mary Beman Gates who married Rufus R. Dawes.

Although there was much pioneering to be done west of the Mississippi in those stirring days following the Civil War, Rufus Dawes laid down his sword and interested himself in rolling mills. He was a railroad builder and contractor. The pioneers, his people, had helped tame the wilderness of Ohio. Rufus believed, in his military manner, that his job was to consolidate the position they had won.

When Charles, the oldest son, was seven years of age, Rufus R. Dawes was rated as wealthy. The panic of 1873 ruined him, but he calmly reëstablished himself in the lumber and railroad supply business. His fortune was never large after the panic, but his family was not in want. His children have a way of describing Rufus R. Dawes by comparing him to Charles.

Rufus R. Dawes was essentially a leader, of men when following the military life, of the four growing men in his family later. He was adept in

exciting the interest of the children in political and economic subjects, and a master in turning the dinner table conversation, which usually was lively, to serious discussions. Henry May Dawes, the youngest son, says that he never saw his father lose his temper more than two or three times. When General Rufus did lose his temper he had a command of vituperative expressions which would have made any of his sons at their best appear amateurs—but he never resorted to profanity.

His relations with the children were unusually dignified. A close student of history and given to classical quotations, he obtained the interest of his growing family in those things which go to make an educated person a cultured one. On the rare occasions when one of the sons had to be given corporal punishment, General Rufus suffered from a reaction leading to acts of generosity which often were extravagant.

Matters of current discipline, which all healthy children require now and then, he left almost entirely to their mother, but his moral domination of the children was so strong that it was not necessary for him to employ detailed exposition or nagging.

"In the main," one of the sons says of his father, "we did what he wanted us to do, ninety per cent because he wanted it, and ten per cent because of

what might be called the fear of a child for the parent."

If the average parent to-day could get an even break in this respect, he would be pleased.

When in Congress General Rufus Dawes was about as strong an advocate of temperance as could be imagined. He favored high license and fought what was known as "The Whiskey Ring," but he was opposed to the tenets of the Prohibition party of the day. Temperance in all things instead of prohibition could well have been termed among his most dominant characteristics.

Mary Gates Dawes was the balance wheel of her big family, particularly for her Brigadier General husband. Her children to-day speak of her as always happy, always smiling, always thinking, working, planning for the happiness of her rowdy brood of boys and girls, bubbling over with fun, possessing a sense of humor that carried her through many situations that might have been impossible otherwise.

Another forbear must appear in these pages, for if we are to believe that tendencies, if not actual traits, are hereditary, the Reverend Manasseh Cutler contributed no small part of the Dawes temperament.

Charles Dawes, omnivorous reader, has in his library the original journal of this Reverend Cutler, the pages carefully protected by rice tissue,

bound into small books and encased in boxes. The books in the fine, clear handwriting of Manasseh Cutler, telling the story of the beginning of pioneer days in Ohio, constitute a priceless record which will go to the Library of Congress when they leave the Evanston home.

Born at Killingly, Connecticut, in 1742, Manasseh Cutler was graduated in 1774 from Yale College and was married shortly afterward to the daughter of a minister. Educated on broad scientific lines he forsook commerce to study theology under his father-in-law and was an ordained preacher during the war of the revolution, leading his flock, teaching a small school, and reading law.

The revolution was a holy cause to Manasseh Cutler. His church became an arsenal, and he its custodian. But that life was not complete enough in those days. The caretaker of the church was instructed to dispense the munitions while the Reverend Mr. Cutler served with the armies as a chaplain.

Following the establishment of the Republic he was instrumental in the organization of the Ohio Company of Associates and, as a member of the new congress, was influential in the drafting and passage of the Ordinance of 1787, which prohibited the extension of slavery into the Northwest Territory, and set aside the income from public

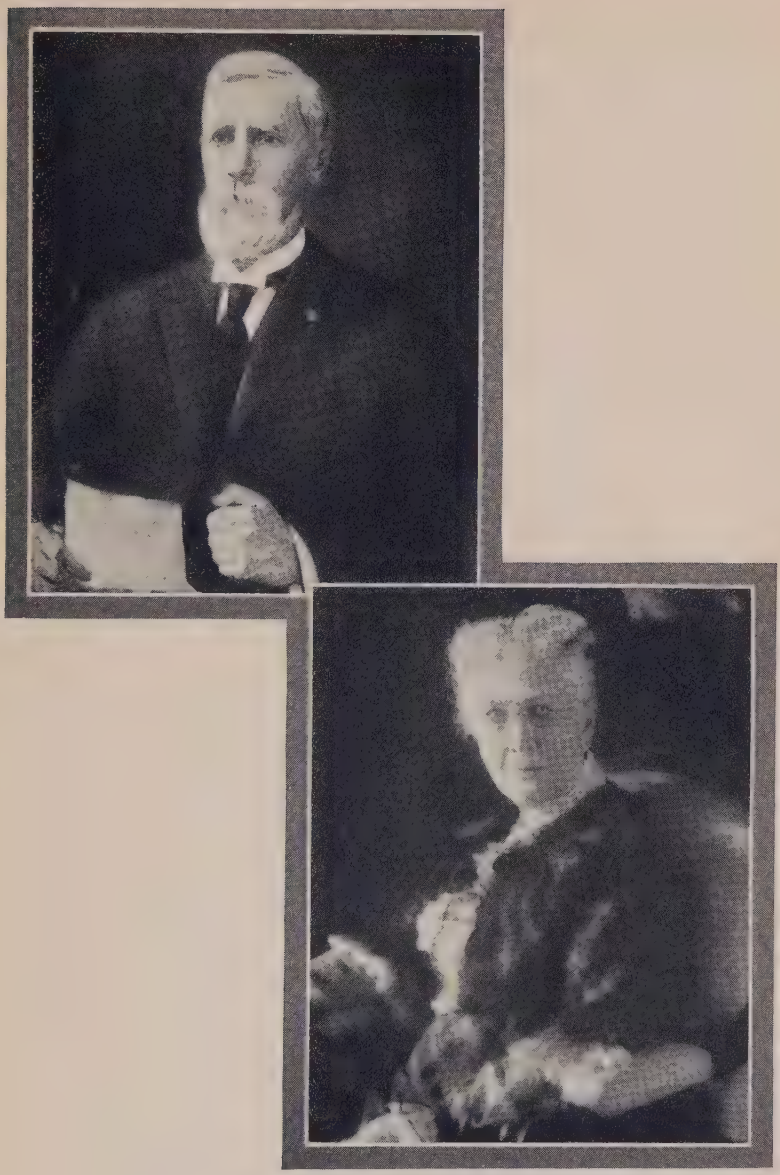
lands for support of education. The Ohio Company, largely composed of men who had given service to the cause of Freedom, established the first principal, solid settlements along the Ohio river, forming the backbone of what is now Ohio, upper Kentucky, Indiana and lower Illinois.

Although the Reverend Mr. Cutler visited the settlements along the Ohio, notably at Marietta, he returned to the East and died in 1805 at Hamilton, Massachusetts. His eldest son, Ephraim Cutler, joined the Western migration in 1795, settling with his family at Marietta. His daughter, Sarah, was married to the son of another pioneer, Henry Dawes. They were the parents of General Rufus Dawes.

CHAPTER TWO

The wonderful years of a boy's life come as he is growing out of his babyhood into his teens—the "formative years," the child psychologists call them. His mother civilizes him, turns him gently from the selfish ways of the young savage; then the father's directing hand leads the way into a world that is savage again. The balance between a mother's sweetness and gentleness and a father's better (if often over-emphasized) realization of the world's bumps, determine the way a boy shall walk into the world.

The proportion of that balance in the life of Charles Dawes, and a living picture of the Dawes home in Marietta, from the time Charles was just turning seven until he left home at twenty-one to seek his fortune in Lincoln, Nebraska, is revealed in the letters of his grandmother, Betsey Shipman Gates. Mrs. Gates was his mother's mother. She lived in Marietta, a short distance from the Dawes house. She was the correspondent of the family, the liaison between its members. Her letters, and some others passing between members of the family, have been preserved. She wrote for the most part to Aunt Betsey Gates Mills, her other daughter, then living in Crawfordsville, Indiana—the



The Parents of the Dawes Brothers—Brigadier General and Mrs. Rufus R. Dawes. From paintings in the Charles G. Dawes home, Evanston.

late Mrs. William W. Mills of Marietta. The letters were privately printed in 1926 by Henry May Dawes.

"Charles," Grandmother Gates wrote in 1872, as he was approaching his seventh year, "is one of the long-headed fellows, and I don't feel as if I was capable of managing him. They have got to be pretty gentle with him, and firm."

When Charles was 11 years old, Grandmother wrote this to Aunt Betsey:

"Charlie says tell you that in his examinations he stood the best in his class and his average was 96. . . . Mary [mother of the brood] makes pants and coats and vests and then begins and goes back. She has not one boy to spare, but how she is ever going to get them to man's estate I cannot tell, and the girl is just as hard to manage; but they are lovely."

Grandmother had raised two girls. Her only son, Charles, had died in infancy. She loved this tribe of lively boys, but simply could not understand how Mary kept her disposition unruffled.

"My dinner party for Beman's birthday," she wrote in 1877, "came off yesterday . . . . I confess to being relieved when the party broke up. I felt like saying with some old historic character, I don't remember who, 'Disperse, ye rebels.' I believe I love my grand-boys as well as anybody's grandmother, but don't I get tired, though!

"On Wednesday Charlie cut his foot, running barefoot, and only began to walk on it this morning. Beman stubbed his toe yesterday, pretty badly, but he walked up here this morning to get his shoes, which he left here Friday evening. As he was coming up the steps he gave his sore toe a double stub . . . . They are the 'beatenest' children I ever saw."

One trait noticeable in all the Dawes family is loyalty, especially to the mother, Mary, who sits and smiles like an elderly Madonna in a full-sized painting in the Charles Dawes Evanston home. Perhaps a letter of Grandmother's of November 2, 1877, may explain this feeling:

"This afternoon I went over to Mary's to tea and there she was with her troop of children as happy as if she had not a care in the world." Then, under date of July 12, 1878, comes this bit: "The Beach family and the Dawes tribe had a picnic. They went up on the Kitty Nye and took their skiff with them up to the head of the island and then went in swimming and had their suppers and then floated down by moonlight in their boat. It does seem as if Mary racked her brains to give those children pleasure . . . .

"Our boys [August 7, 1878] with the neighbors, ten in all, camped out in their yard last night. Their tent is made of an old rag carpet thrown over poles and the ground is covered with

carpet; then they all have pillows. There was a lantern hung out and they changed guards every hour . . . . I don't see how Mary can be at so much trouble to please such a crowd of boys. Her patience is inexhaustible . . . . Mary will come walking up here in the evening as clean and as sweet as a new blown rose to see how her father is before she goes to bed . . . .

"Mary has just worked night and day for it [Christmas, 1878], and I am sure I don't know how she held out to get through with it . . . . I don't see why Mary don't go raving crazy. In the morning she has to get them all up and see that they are washed and off to school and as soon as they come home the first question is, 'Boys, are your feet wet? Then take off your boots and stockings and put on these old ones while yours dry.' Then she has to see that they do get dry and get on again and that they get off to school again. This has to be gone through with three times before she gets them to bed. Then the clothes are to be mended . . . . Charlie was up here one night a week or so ago and he wanted me to sew on his buttons, which I did . . . . I sewed on thirteen. . . . . They are the rowdiest set I ever saw and not a bad one amongst them, only they do make work. It is all one person ought to do to patch and mend and darn for them."

Writing in January, 1879, after Beman broke

through the ice on Red River* and, in his belief —although Grandmother says he would have had to lie pretty flat to do it—was all but drowned, she makes a comment which is true of all times: "I think the great question of the age is what shall or can be done with boys."

And so it was in such a home as this, with such a father and such a mother, that the Dawes children grew up. Not for them were the inhibitions and unrests that keep some children to-day wondering what to wonder about. They were busy, busy all the time. Mother saw to that. And, although it took miles of thread and acres of patches and cards and boxes of buttons—and the patience of a mother of six—they were kept too busy to have the modern phobias which keep the psychoanalysts employed to-day. While this is a picture of the Dawes family, it may well be taken as a cross section of most of the Middle Western American homes of half a century ago. There were the same sort of healthy, hungry, roistering large families, the same stern fathers who melted in a pinch, the same patient mothers, the same grandmothers who wondered what to do with boys but loved and helped spoil them.

We skip a few years of Grandmother's letters to

(*) The name of this stream has since been changed to Goose Creek.

1879 when Charles was 14. Grandmother writes from a vacation visit in New Hampshire to daughter Mary: "If you do get all those four boys through college and they make smart, good, educated men, and then make good use of their opportunities in doing good to others and getting good to themselves, won't we all be happy though!"

In the language of that day, the four boys have turned out right well.

Charles needs no introduction. Beman has been a pioneer—with the other three—in development of public utilities, gas and electric plants. After two terms in Congress he acquired the Ohio Cities Gas Company, which grew, in a series of mergers, to be the Pure Oil Company, of which he was president and later chairman of the board of directors, with headquarters in Columbus, Ohio. Rufus Cutler Dawes headed the corporation known as "Dawes Brothers," in handling a group of gas and electric companies, ranging from Ohio through the Middle West, the Southwest and out to Seattle, until all the utility holdings were disposed of in 1929. He is president of *A Century of Progress,* the organization of leading Chicago citizens preparing the projected world industrial fair for Chicago in 1933. Henry May Dawes left a connection with Dawes Brothers to be Comptroller of the Currency under President Harding,

going as president to the Pure Oil Company in 1924, with headquarters in Columbus and later in Chicago.

The two sisters are Mrs. Arthur D. Beach, of Marietta, and Mrs. Harry B. Hoyt, of Jacksonville, Florida.

Economy ruled rigidly as the children grew older; Father and Mother were in Washington, where Father was a member of Congress—1881 to 1883—and the children lived with Grandmother, attending school at Marietta. They all had to learn frugality then, if they had not learned it before.

"They never look the least bit shabby or dirty," Grandmother reports to Washington, "so you need not feel ashamed of them . . . ."

In 1882 we begin to find some letters from Charles. There was one to his father—whose seed and pamphlet representative he was in Marietta—"I will read this Cong. Record and see what I can learn in it . . . . Last Tuesday I attended a fancy dress party . . . . Our debate last Saturday was not good. The question was, 'Resolved that the college reading room should be changed into a billiard hall.' I do not approve of anyone who acts a fool in literary society and so I did not smile at all at the amusement, as they called it. We go to Society to learn something, and not to learn to be fools. There are certain members who

cannot speak on debate without talking in a witty (?) way and one gets tired of it."

The inserted interrogation mark was in the original letter.

Charles was in Marietta college, but his impatience with people who could not be serious, which burst forth when he became Vice President, was developing.

"Charlie wasn't a fellow to take imposition," a Marietta College contemporary told a newspaper interviewer in 1924. "I don't mean that he was a fist fighter. He was not. He commanded respect from other fellows without having to fight for it. He minded his own business pretty well—didn't intrude on people. Of course none of us ever figured him as likely to be the 'big man' in finance and public life that he has become. Boys do not look much into the future of their fellows. The average high school and college graduating class forecast is ninety-nine per cent wrong, as it turns out. Charlie Dawes stood out as a boy and young man in ways that made us recollect him easily enough when he started doing things, and we began hearing about him as far back as the late nineties.

"How many of your own classmates in high school or college can you place definitely to-day, with their proper names, and mental pictures of how they looked? Not very many.

"We remembered Charlie Dawes mostly, I suppose, because of his way of flying off the handle when somebody made him angry. It did not happen very often but when it did and he had something to say about somebody he said it without mincing any words or leaving any out. People say that when he gets roiled up now he can use the best approved army words. I don't know about that, but I do not remember ever hearing him use what we called swear words when he was a boy."

Henry M. Dawes, the youngest of the brothers, looked upon the eldest son of Rufus Dawes with awed eyes.

"He was very serious as I remember him in his teens," Henry Dawes says. "He liked to argue a point and he did it pretty well, frequently getting into debates with men four to six years older than himself. I remember that he won one prize at it."

At 17 Charles was working as a surveyor on the Marietta, Columbus and Northern railroad in school vacation—work that primarily qualified him thirty-five years later for a commission in the world war, Corps of Engineers, United States army.

"The levels that we run," he wrote to his father, "I think are not the best that could be run, by half . . . . Rufe (his brother, Rufus Cutler Dawes) tells me that you are thinking of relenting in the college society business. I sincerely hope you are.

You have reached a point most emphatically where 'forbearance ceases to be a virtue.' One should never try to accomplish what is impossible. These words of advice and wisdom from your learned son I have no doubt will exert a great influence over your future actions in regard to this matter. I have earned enough money to pay my initiation fee and I would rather put it there than anywhere else. In your next letter please give me permission."

Even if Charles was a serious boy, he had flashes of the dry humor which has been so great a leavening influence in his later years of serious work of world importance. He obtained permission to join the college fraternity.

Charles by this time had taught himself to play a flute and the piano. The beginning with the flute had come ten years earlier when he had been given a toy flageolet for Christmas. He was evidently a fair bicycle rider, for Grandmother reports that in June, 1883, at the field day on the college campus, "Charlie got the three dollar prize . . . ." "Charlie has just come in to say that he got the second prize, 10 dollars, for an essay . . . . Foolish old grandmother, but I do like to have my own boys beat." Evidently Grandmother meant "win."

In 1884 Charles, 19 years old, graduated from Marietta College, fourth, as Grandmother boasted, in a class of fifteen. "When you know that he

has clothed himself by his earnings you will think with us that he has done pretty well. Nickerson, the first honor man, was just as old as Charlie is now when he entered college four years ago. Lloyd is twenty-eight and has the second honor. Allen Beach takes the third."

Charles then went to Cincinnati Law School, and Grandmother missed his "singing and the drumming of the old piano."

But, although he hammered the piano, tootled the flute, and sang, he worked, too, for Grandmother's letters report that, using Beman and Rufus as his aids, he "is quite a help to the family exchequer. He paid a note at Law School for $50, bought him a nice new suit since he came home in May with what he made by work and in getting oil leases and selling them again. But he cannot be so successful all the time. That is pretty well for 20 years old."

"Charlie [March 12, 1886] is settling down into splendid shape. He told his mother when he was here last that he never tasted wine and that a drop of whisky or brandy never passed his lips. And I believe he said that he never smoked or chewed."

If Grandmother could only see him now, talking like a machine-gun around the stem of his underslung pipe! But he has stuck to the teetotaler idea. Even in the American Embassy in London the Ambassador's dinners have been "dry."

We approach the end of Grandmother's letters. Her grandchildren have been growing up. Charles, in 1887, went to Lincoln to hang out his shingle as a lawyer, but before he went the family met Caro Blymyer, of Cincinnati, daughter of a graduate of Marietta College, who came occasionally with her father to visit friends in the college town. Charles had a personal interest in having his family meet the Blymyers.

"You don't know how we miss Charlie," Grandmother wrote in 1887. "He took letters from here to Judge Doan who lives in Omaha and he said he would take him into his office and he could support himself until he could work in the law by city engineering, and he had a friend from the law school there who was taking care of himself. He had a great mind to stay there without going to Lincoln . . . . I rather think it will be Lincoln, but either of them are great openings for a young man that has nothing but his letters and a fine personal appearance to recommend him."

"Mary hears from Charlie twice a week. He has decided to stay in Lincoln. Rufus Walton, Senior's cousin, will give him engineering to do, as much as he wants, and that will enable him to pay his board. There is a real estate man who will give him a per cent of all that he sells, and he has put a deal of land into his hands, so it looks as if his prospects were very good for taking

care of himself at once. I cannot help thinking it is a great thing for him to be engaged to this nice little girl of his . . . ."

Charles Dawes owes no small part of his success to his wife. Of Caro Blymyer Dawes that part of the world called Society, official Washington and London, too, really knows little. She has honestly avoided publicity to such an extent that she is the despair of woman newspaper reporters assigned to write about the wives of famous men, but for that very reason the Ladies of The Press accord her a degree of respect that they do not hold for many others similarly wed.

Whatever career Mrs. Dawes may have planned for herself as a college girl was forgotten when she married Charles Dawes. His career has been her career, but, while he worked for the satisfaction of working, while he acquired financial and political prestige, she did that thing which permits a man to rise above the herd: she provided for him a placid, happy, contented home life. Since her marriage Mrs. Dawes has followed a course similar to that pursued by Lou Henry Hoover.

When the Republican nominee for President of the United States and his wife were going from Washington to their California home for the notification ceremony and the opening of the 1928 campaign, they entertained one or two members of the newspaper contingent at luncheon or dinner

each day in their private car. One of the writers, sitting next to Mrs. Hoover at luncheon, led the table talk toward the Hoovers' college days together at Leland Stanford.

"You majored in geology, did you not?" the reporter asked, expecting the reply to lead into a good story about the unusualness of a woman taking such a course in those days.

"Yes," Mrs. Hoover smiled quietly. "But since I was married I have majored in Herbert Hoover."

Mrs. Dawes has "majored in Charles Dawes."

CHAPTER THREE

During the world war Ogden Mills of New York turned over his house in Paris to General John J. Pershing, for headquarters, when away from Chaumont. Charles Dawes, as a brigadier general in the American Expeditionary Forces, in command of the Department of Procurement of Supplies—purchasing agent, in other words—was a frequent guest.

"John," Dawes lolled back in his chair one evening and waved his six inch cigar in its long amber holder at the beautiful fittings of the room in which they sat, "when I contrast these barren surroundings with the luxuriousness of our early life in Lincoln, it does seem that a good man has no real chance in the world."

Pershing looked up and smiled in his quiet way.

"Don't it beat hell?" he replied.

A few weeks later they sat at table as ranking dinner guests of an American woman of considerable social prominence in Paris. Their hostess had asked Dawes about his boyhood in America. He had told something of his doings, but when he reached the episodes pertaining to his move to Nebraska, he suddenly leaned across the table, his face serious.

"General," he begged, "please tell Madame about that splendid old Spanish grandee, Don Cameron."

Pershing was stumped. Well he might have been, for "Don" Cameron was the proprietor of a lunch room in Lincoln where young Dawes, Lieutenant John J. Pershing, William Jennings Bryan and his brother Charles W. Bryan—none of them having any more money than they could spare—ate most of their meals. Luncheon—called dinner in those days—was fifteen cents. A pretty good sized supper could be had in the evening for twenty-five cents, from soup to dessert. It satisfied even the ravenous William Bryan. It was at Don Cameron's that Dawes met those three men. Pershing had recently been graduated from the United States Military academy and was stationed at Lincoln, teaching military science to the young cadets of the State University. William Bryan, lately come from Illinois, was establishing his political fortune, and his brother, Charles, later to be governor of Nebraska and a Democratic candidate for Vice President opposed to Dawes, was working with him.

Law practice was not extensive for a youngster, and the temperamentally nervous Dawes was keeping his eyes open for wider opportunities. Among his first legal cases was a retainer from a group of Nebraska farmers, in which grain grow-

ers of neighboring western states later joined. They had a grievance. They believed they were made victims of discrimination by the railroads in the matter of freight rates which militated against prices for their produce. They chose Dawes because his fees were small, and they had mighty little money with which to pay lawyers. He kicked up such a fuss in the courts and in the State House at Lincoln that the farmers not only obtained action, but saw the beginning of what eventually became the Federal Interstate Commerce Commission for regulation of railroad rates.

Other lawyers taking up the fight of the farmers became known as radicals and kept on being radicals. Dawes referred to his own "radicalism" of the late eighties in the course of his 1924 Vice Presidential campaign, although he never went into the particulars of what he did. The details have been obscured by his subsequent and more spectacular performances, but they were important then to the farmers, and they were important to him.

The farmers were aggressive under the title of Anti-Monopolists. The great Granger movement in opposition to the railroad companies had petered out; the Populist movement was yet to come. But "Wall Street" was hated as only men who toiled forever and had little to show for their hard work could hate. The Nonpartisan League

The Vice President and Mrs. Dawes open the 1926 baseball season in Washington.

and other extremely radical agrarian movements were undreamed.

General William Leese (Civil War veterans were favored candidates for all offices) was elected Attorney General of Nebraska as an Anti-Monopolist, and in cases brought before the State Supreme court by Leese, aimed to control or curb the roads, Dawes appeared repeatedly. The most important action was one designed to unscramble a combination, said to have been maneuvered by the Burlington railroad for the purpose of scotching a troublesome competitor, the Atchison and Nebraska, running south out of Lincoln. Dawes and Leese lost that particular fight, but it led to bigger game. The railroads, in those days of the West, controlled state politics, and the courts were not always unfriendly to them. The court ruled that the A. and N. was not a competitor.

The farmers stood alone in their efforts for rate equalization until the wholesale merchants discovered that their interests were parallel. I. M. Raymond, head of a Lincoln grocery company, shipping to a considerable part of the section, retained Dawes to lead the jobbers in their fight for treatment by the railroads equal to that given merchants in Omaha, and Dawes won.

From 1887 to 1889 Dawes felt his way. Rufus Walton, a former governor of Ohio, had commissioned him to look after real estate interests in

Lincoln. Commissions on sales of those properties, and his picayunish legal retainers, emboldened him in his second year away from home to be more definite in his letters to Cincinnati.

Finally Caro Blymer said "yes." Charles made a hurried inventory and discovered that outside of his prospects, an active brain, and a lot of willingness to work, he had not enough money to pay the expenses of a marriage trip to Ohio and back. He went to S. H. Burnham, president of the First National Bank of Lincoln.

"I want to borrow $100," he said.

"What for?" Burnham asked.

"To go to Cincinnati and get married on and come back here," Dawes replied seriously.

Burnham said the usual thing about security, and was told that his caller had none. But Dawes got the hundred dollars anyway. The wedding was celebrated in January, 1889, in the Blymyer home at Cincinnati, with the members of both families present. The wedding gifts were laid out on the dining room table and, as the regular servants of the house and some extras hired for the occasion fluttered here and there, the guests inspected the presents. So did Charles Dawes and his bride. The honeymoon was short—a day at Marietta, and then on back to Lincoln, and work.

On the train returning to Nebraska Dawes confessed to his bride that he had borrowed the $100.

"And we might have walked back instead of riding now," he half seriously told her, "if it hadn't been for your father's present."

"You mean the check for $500?" Mrs. Dawes asked.

"Yes, indeed. I cashed it before we left Cincinnati."

"Did father know you took the check?"

"No. I didn't say anything about it."

"Charles!" Mrs. Dawes exclaimed. "If that check is missed some of the servants will be blamed for taking it. You send a telegram to Cincinnati right away."

They set up housekeeping on that $500 in a six-room rented cottage on the edge of town and, except for those times when he was lucky and had a lift in somebody's carriage, Dawes walked to his law office and back home.

"I had been told that a couple could get along on $80 a month," he said many years later, "but we found that it took pretty close to $100. Mrs. Dawes was a mighty good manager, though, or we'd never have squeaked through some times. She manages our home now just as economically and as efficiently as she ever did that cottage."

In the same year that Dawes moved to Lincoln, 1877, William Jennings Bryan hung out his shingle as a lawyer in the capital of Nebraska, there to establish a fortune which he had come to real-

ize would not materialize in Jacksonville, Illinois, where his bride of three years and their first child awaited his call to join him. Bryan had found himself as an orator and under the tutelage of J. Sterling Morton, Democratic boss of Nebraska, and "fixer" for the railroads—whom Bryan later repudiated—he had become active in national and local Democratic politics. People liked Bryan. He was championing on the platform the causes that Dawes was fighting for in the courts. Bryan talked and did not offend Morton, while Dawes acted. It was inevitable that they should become acquainted. Dawes was a Republican, even as his father, Rufus, was a Republican. Bryan was a Democrat, because his father, Silas, was a Democrat. Dawes and Bryan had law offices in the same building in Lincoln, the Burr block, Dawes on the fifth floor, Bryan on the third. They had another neighbor whom neither cared for, a young prohibition worker who came in later years to be known as "Pussyfoot" Johnson. While waiting for clients to find them—they both had a lot of time to kill in that respect—Dawes and Bryan would stretch their legs in each other's offices and talk politics.

"Bryan," says the late Paxton Hibben in his excellent biography, *The Peerless Leader,* "even proposed that they make a little money and secure a little free advertising by staging debates on public

questions—he (Bryan) was willing, he said, to take either side of the argument."

Dawes liked Bryan, Hibben also relates.

Dawes did like Bryan in a way, but they did not agree politically. Bryan was consolidating his political position in the churches and, although Dawes had been raised as a member of the Presbyterian church—which he attended regularly—he never could force himself to the front in religious meetings as Bryan did almost at once. Incidentally, General Dawes is a Presbyterian and Mrs. Dawes a Congregationalist. When they were in Washington, 1925 to 1929, they attended the New York Avenue Presbyterian church, and in Evanston they attend a Congregational church. President Coolidge was a Congregationalist, and General and Mrs. Dawes believed that the two First Families should be separated on Sundays.

The fact that Bryan offered to take either side of an argument in debate stuck in the Dawes craw, and he never could quite believe that Bryan was sincere in everything that he said and did.

But it was Bryan's advocacy of free silver, his adoption of bimetallism, his sixteen-to-one doctrine, that Dawes believed half-baked and which he could not swallow. He did enter into debate with "The Boy Orator of the Platte," on bimetallism, and did not fare so well. Although beaten in their few debates, Dawes was certain Bryan's

theories were wrong—but he could not prove it. So he set about learning what there was to know about national currency, about banking and banking systems, about national and international finance. He found it an absorbing subject. He pursued it further. He wrote a book, published in 1892, "The Banking System of the United States, and Its Relation to the Money and Business of the Country."

That book was largely responsible for his appointment by President William McKinley in 1897 to the office of Comptroller of the Currency. His experience in that office and the study that preceded it provided the banking knowledge upon which he founded The Central Trust Company of Illinois. It was knowledge which enabled him years later, when Vice President of the United States, to win the friendship of a doughty fighter, Senator James A. Reed of Missouri.

Dawes, as we shall see more fully later in these pages, lambasted the Senate in his inauguration speech for its lack of what he believed adequate closure rules. In retaliation, various members of the Senate took turns belaboring Dawes when he was in the chair for that attack during a good part of his four year term. In the course of the debate on ratification of the Italian debt settlement, in which Reed assumed a position contrary to the Dawes beliefs, the lanky Missourian took occasion

one day to tear into the Dawes demand for change in the Senate closure rule.

Throughout the speech by Reed, which was one of his most sarcastic and most brilliant, Dawes sprawled in the big chair of the presiding officer, with an impassive face. The Vice President is not permitted a voice in debate, even when the speaker on the floor is saying things about the Vice President. But immediately upon the conclusion of the Missourian's excoriation, Dawes called the President Pro Tempore, Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, to relieve him in the chair, and retired to his chambers. Thereupon he sent word that he would like to see Senator Reed.

The Missourian, walking stiff legged, like a wary tom cat on a back fence, looking for and expecting trouble, went at once to the Vice President's chamber. Dawes received him with a disarming grin.

"Sit down, Jim," he invited, as he applied a match to his underslung pipe. "You say I don't know anything about the rules of the Senate. By golly, there's something that you don't know everything about and that's international finance. I'm going to tell you about it."

They had luncheon in the Vice President's chamber, spread out by obsequious colored waiters on his big mahogany desk, and somewhat later they walked out arm in arm, Reed smiling, his

lips twitching in appreciation of a story that Dawes had just told him, Dawes contentedly puffing at his pipe. Each had learned fully to respect the other.

If Dawes and Bryan did not agree, they remained friends, and continued to eat their luncheons at Don Cameron's, together with Lieutenant Pershing and Charles Bryan. During the 1924 campaign Dawes visited Lincoln and called on Governor Charles Bryan, who was likewise the Democratic candidate for Vice President, teamed with John W. Davis. Bryan, wearing his black silk skull cap, which he is reported to have said was necessary because light shining on his bald head gave him pain, received the Republican candidate in the gubernatorial front office. They talked over old days in Lincoln. The visit was a short one, but entirely friendly.

Later a reporter for an Omaha newspaper made a remark uncomplimentary to Governor Bryan, hoping thereby to obtain some derogatory comment from Dawes, which he could print.

"Charlie Bryan's all right!" Dawes snapped. "We don't agree politically, but he is square."

Of all the friendships Dawes made in Lincoln, that with the tall, handsome army officer, Pershing, was the most enduring. When Pershing's wife and three of their four children perished later in a fire in the Presidio, San Francisco, Dawes suf-

fered almost as keenly as did his friend, John. When Pershing went to France in 1917 to command the American Expeditionary Forces, his friend Dawes—but we are getting much too far ahead of this story.

Dawes became director of a small bank in Lincoln, and of a meat packing house. He made investments in downtown real estate which were profitable. His interest in the production of artificial illuminating gas was stimulated through his legal connection with the merger of some tiny companies in Nebraska. The manufacture of gas interested him. He looked into it as he had looked into the business of finance. With his technical education at Marietta, used very little since his surveying days in school vacations, and his newfound knowledge about coal gas, he became convinced that development and expansion of this industry would mean money to him. He acquired the backing of a group of Lincoln men in 1895 to buy a plant at Peoria, Illinois, which he had heard about and which he believed would be a good nucleus for a string of plants. He went to Peoria and looked over the proposition—but decided not to buy. The price was too high and the field not as promising as he wished.

While in Peoria he heard about another gas plant which was for sale, and which might promise a better price and bigger returns. He went to

La Crosse, Wisconsin, looked around, and without a word to his backers, bought the La Crosse Gas Company. He returned to Lincoln and made his report. The men from whom he had bought the Wisconsin property, he explained, had grown old in the business and had failed, or refused, to keep step with modern methods of manufacture and distribution. The La Crosse purchase was bonded so advantageously that it was not necessary for Dawes or his backers to put very much cash into the expansion and modernization of the plant. He sold it soon afterward at a fair profit, after putting it on a firm financial and distribution basis.

Meanwhile Dawes—slender, eager-eyed, his upper lip carrying a mustache—was seemingly possessed of a demon that demanded ceaseless activity. He kept his eyes open for gas plants that could be bought advantageously. He found another not very far from La Crosse, and hurried to the office of the man who had loaned him the $100 for his wedding trip, Sam Burnham.

"I want you to go on a $50,000 note which I need as the greater part of a first payment on a gas plant in Evanston, Illinois," he told the banker, as Mr. Burnham related it in 1924.

At that time John R. Walsh was the grand mogul of finance and politics in Chicago. One of his specialties was buying and operating gas plants.

"It can't be done," Burnham replied, almost

gasping at the audacity of this green young man from Marietta. The very idea—going to Illinois and snatching a gas plant right from under the vigilant eyes and nose of the ogre Walsh!

"Why not?" Dawes demanded.

"See here, young fellow," Burnham leveled a pencil at his brash caller, "you have been going good, and you have been fairly successful. But in going up against John Walsh you'll stub your toe hard. I won't sign a note with you for such a purpose—not for $50,000 or for 50 cents."

"I'm sorry, Mr. Burnham," Dawes snapped, "but I know exactly what I'm doing."

So he went out of the First National and into another bank where he got the widow of John R. Clark, who had been president of that bank, and the cashier, Gus Hanna, to sign the note with him.

"And, by jing," Burnham grinned in 1924, "if he didn't go and buy that gas plant in Evanston! Not only that, but he went right into John Walsh's office and laid his cards on the table and got Walsh to float his entire issue of bonds, which was about enough to pay for the plant. Dawes," Burnham added, "got his big start right there."

Dawes made a million out of this gas company when he sold it to the Samuel Insull interests—the property becoming a part of the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois.

There was none of the ruthless "let-the-other-fellow-beware" tactics in the Dawes operations. One of the men who helped him was in difficulties some time later. Dawes made him a present of a considerable sum of money—it was said to be $20,000, but Dawes would never say how much it was—to use in paying his obligations. That same man received an annuity from Dawes until his death. One old man had a job as caretaker in the block of buildings in Lincoln that Dawes owned. When Dawes leased the space to a building corporation for ninety-nine years, the caretaker lost his job and, because of his age, could not find another. He, too, was a Dawes pensioner until his death.

Those pensioners, if we again may diverge from the chronological for a few moments, have been legion. Contributions to various charities in considerable amount have been made by General and Mrs. Dawes, but no biographer of this man is ever going to get any complete story of his giving. Both he and his wife regard that as nobody's business.

Although they are Protestants, they have given frequently to Roman Catholic charities. A friend of Dawes was visiting him in his office in The Central Trust Company building during the holidays shortly before his retirement from the Vice Presidency, when two sisters of a Catholic order were announced. One was elderly, the other of about

middle age. The older sister has been famous in Chicago for her work with the House of the Good Shepherd where girls to whom life has not been so full of romance as they had believed it would be are cared for. The Home was in financial difficulties several years earlier, and Mr. and Mrs. Dawes had heard about it. Calling the nun to his office, General Dawes had given her a check that made continuance of the home possible—a pretty good sized check.

It was close to Christmas on this day that the two sisters called. Concealed on his desk under a piece of letter head were several checks signed with the Dawes scrawl. As the women of the church entered his office Dawes untangled his long legs from the corner of his desk, where he had parked them for relaxation, and rose in greeting. In his right hand, tightly folded, was concealed one of the checks. The older sister started as his hand closed over her own. She appeared completely upset as she noticed the amount for which it was drawn, and stammered as she introduced the younger nun. Dawes enjoyed her discomfiture hugely, for again the figure on the check was large.

"I did not come for that," the elder nun reproved. "I came to wish you and yours a very Merry Christmas, and—"

"And a happy one to you, Sister," Dawes grinned, still enjoying his caller's embarrassment.

As the nuns turned to leave the office the elder one, her veil forgotten for just a moment, her heart was so full—so were her eyes, for tears dropped down her paradoxically smiling face—swung suddenly and kissed Charles Dawes squarely on the cheek. Like a flash the nuns of the House of the Good Shepherd left the office, but the little sister had repaid Dawes for his joke with the unexpected check.

For at least once in his life Charles Dawes was completely flabbergasted.

There was the widow of a man who had helped Dawes in the early days in Lincoln. Dawes had aided her husband when his own fortune began to grow, but spare days had come for the older couple. Dawes had signed a note upon which the man had obtained $10,000. It was a happy business relationship, for frequently Dawes and his wife had been Sunday dinner guests at his home.

Dawes forgot all about the note. The man had long since lost the money, and had died penniless. But only a few years ago his wife came into the bank office in Chicago.

"I have come to pay my husband's note," she announced with a triumphant smile, and handed him her check for the amount, with interest . . . .

"Oh, yes. That's fine," Dawes replied. He dug down into a personal file that his most confidential secretaries never touched. Out of its depths

he drew the note. "That's fine," he repeated, and proceeded to tear the note into a hundred pieces, which he presented, with the check, to the startled woman. "That's small enough pay for the fine chicken dinners we used to have at your home in Lincoln," he grunted, and relighted his pipe.

There was another man upon whom Dawes vented a facet of his peculiar humor. The man had been a friend of his father's, back in Marietta. Charles dimly remembered him; the man was a kindly old cuss, but one of the world's worst bores. He would sit and talk about nothing all day, and dynamite could not budge him. Finally came the inevitable touch that had been expected and gladly Dawes gave him a five dollar bank note.

"Come in whenever you need one," Dawes said, "and it will be here for you—as long as you don't say anything. One word—just one word—and you'll never get another."

For some time the old man called regularly at the bank building on Monroe street. He would walk into the office, smile, and immediately receive his hush money. With another smile and a bow he would retire. Attaches of the bank wondered how far the boss would go in his threat if the man dared to thank him, and Dawes himself wondered at times—but the man never spoke another word to him.

CHAPTER FOUR

Financial success was assured.

Charles Dawes had found his work and his fortune in public utilities, and he had a hankering for politics. It would be another outlet for his boundless energy. Back in his mind was a thought that he had held since boyhood. William Jennings Bryan had that ambition, too, but Dawes came closer to being President of the United States than Bryan ever did, in spite of Bryan's many nominations. With his field of financial operations changed, Dawes moved his family from Lincoln to Evanston in 1895 and, following the sale of the Northwestern Gas company to the Insull group, he bought a house on Forest Avenue. A year later he purchased the lake front home which he has occupied since.

The political pot began to boil. Bryan was champing at the bit, orating across the country on his free silver theme. Politics called to Dawes and he could not deny himself the privilege of a role in America's greatest drama—a Presidential campaign. Major William McKinley, Jr., who had been a friend of General Rufus Dawes in the Civil War, and later when they were in Congress together, was looming as the Republican candidate.

Favorite sons blossomed in many of the states. Illinois had her favorite in Senator Shelby M. Cullom, entrenched in the Senate—whence Presidents must come, as the Senators see it even to-day—and a rampaging campaigner at home. Dawes put his ear to the ground. He talked to many men, principally Civil War veterans and unorganized young voters like himself—he was 31 years old then—and came to the conclusion that Cullom was not as popular in his home state as Cullom believed. He did not know Cullom very well, but he knew of the Senator's campaign methods, of his way of organizing, of the cogs in his machine such as it was.

Dawes also listened to the rumblings that came from Cleveland and Columbus. He visited McKinley at Canton and met Marcus Alonzo Hanna, gruff, blunt, astute politician, who had assumed national direction of the McKinley pre-convention campaign. Hanna visited Chicago to look over the Ilinois situation and came to the conclusion that wresting an endorsement for McKinley there from Cullom was impossible. Dawes believed otherwise. He believed it so strongly that Hanna gave him permission to go ahead and see what he could see, do what he could do. There was no organization to elect Dawes formally to the job. He simply took command with Hanna's sanction.

Back in 1894 a husky young railroad brakeman

from Ohio, with a shock of black hair and a bushy beard, was taken into the headquarters, at Galesburg, Illinois, of the International Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, as Chief Clerk and Cashier. He was William Grant Edens, and he had to a high degree the knack of gathering information and of making friends—a born politician. He had been talking to Major McKinley as "Our Next President" so vociferously that he had attracted considerable attention in his part of the state among the McKinley politicians—so much so that the trainmen, most of whom were Democrats, tried to silence him. They even argued that, as a trainman, it was treason for him to be other than a Democrat.

As a delegate of the Young Men's National Republican League, in 1895 at Cleveland, Edens met Dawes. Shortly after their return to Illinois Dawes asked Edens to come to Chicago and have luncheon with him. The young railroader met most of the membership of the Union League Club, including Herman H. Kohlsaat, and Victor F. Lawson, newspaper publishers, and, following his talk with Dawes, was made state organizer of the Illinois Republican League. The appointment came through Hanna, but Edens was told to report to Dawes, which he did. Much of the state organization work was based upon his reports from every Congressional district in the state.

Dawes did not approve of the "Blond Boss" of Cook County politics, William E. Lorimer, who was later twice to play important roles in his life. Lorimer, born in Manchester, England, in 1861, fatherless in Chicago at twelve years of age, becoming successively sign painter's apprentice, street car conductor, real estate salesman, appointee of Mayors Roche and Washburne to minor office in the Chicago Water Department, had won a dominant position in local party councils. He had been sent to Congress from the second Illinois district in 1894 and now as the 1896 campaign preliminaries opened, Lorimer, like Dawes, had political ambitions. But they worked along different lines. Lorimer had aligned himself with the "machine" element, which he controlled. He was in politics for all politics could offer. Dawes had a definite objective—aid for his father's friend, McKinley, and recognition of himself as a politician. Lorimer was constantly in the limelight. Dawes never cast a shadow in that respect. He talked to McKinley and to Hanna. His youth was held against him by many Illinois politicians of long standing, but he drew around him several oldsters, notably Brigadier General John McNulta, just turning into his sixtieth year after an excellent Civil War record and service for the Republican party since its birth. Dawes and McNulta were recognized as the authorized McKin-

ley agents in Illinois, but it soon became apparent that Dawes, as a Chicago negro politician put it, was "recognizeder."

With the supreme assurance and nervous energy that even then was marking everything he did, and some of the impatience that came to distinguish him in later years, Dawes started to organize the state for McKinley sentiment. He talked—not on the platform, but in private conversations—with everybody who counted. He went carefully over the state, operating from headquarters in Chicago. He learned that Cullom was vulnerable, not as popular as his backers believed; and he learned also that the Cullom group was organizing along comfortable, orthodox, safe and sane lines. Dawes suspected that, although Cullom believed himself a serious candidate and possible nominee, some of the older leaders were not as sincerely for Cullom as they seemed to be. There was something in somebody's woodpile somewhere, but it was not easily dug out.

The Democrats were not to be worried about for the moment. But there were Populists and Prohibitionists and the American Protective Association, an anti-Catholic political organization, which was in a peculiar condition, with some of its leaders endorsing McKinley, and others criticizing him unmercifully. Dawes stayed away from the A. P. A. men. Religious prejudice was

something to be avoided in politics like smallpox, he believed, and he felt that the A. P. A. was not worth consideration otherwise. He put in a word here and there with Republicans of Populistic leanings—principally in the rural counties—for the Bryan free silver campaign had made them restless. He went over the state and as the party delegates met in the various county conventions he won a good majority of the endorsements, which were effective in subsequent district conventions. The delegates went to the state convention at Springfield loaded for bear; and so did Dawes, for he wanted the moral effect that a McKinley instruction of the four delegates at large would have on the nation as a whole. Hanna wanted it, too, for Illinois was a pivotal state. Lorimer and his group desired an uninstructed delegation. Given that, they would be in a position to make advantageous trades for their own national political advancement.

As the month of April approached the stock of the many favorite sons rose and fell. Cullom's candidacy was announced and endorsed at Springfield, on March 3, when David T. Littler presented a resolution in the Sangamon County convention which was carried, losing only two votes. The United States Congress, as usual, was a seething hotbed of political ambitions. Senator W. B. Allison, of Iowa, hoisted his candidacy. So did Brad-

ley of Kentucky; Manderson of Nebraska; Governor Morton of New York; Senator Davis of Minnesota; Benjamin Harrison of Indiana; Senator Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania; Thomas Brockett Reed of Maine, speaker of the House of Representatives; and Chandler of New Hampshire.

Cullom's principal stock in trade, aside from his publicity gained as a Senator, was that he looked like Abraham Lincoln. It was recognized as a valuable asset, and was used by his campaigners, as Ohioans in 1920 played on the fact that Warren Gamaliel Harding resembled a picture of George Washington.

The Cullomites went about their campaign in a complacent mood. They knew that Dawes was trying to organize the state for McKinley, but they laughed at the idea of the youngster from Nebraska getting away with anything like that. . . . They kept on smiling at his efforts until they awoke suddenly on the last day of March to find, in the Seventeenth Congressional District convention at Decatur, that Cullom had lost his own district. Its two delegates to the National convention were instructed to vote for McKinley.

Dawes became more alert, with his nose around the Cook County woodpile, when dispatches on April 6 told of the appearance in Indianapolis of bushels of Harrison buttons. Lorimer was said to

be the man who sent the Harrison emblems into Indiana to halt McKinley sentiment there in favor of a Hoosier—Lorimer, who wanted uninstructed delegations, who seemed to favor Cullom against McKinley, but who had something else in his mind, not quite fathomable.

The McKinley group organized in Chicago with Alexander H. Revell, Charles U. Gordon, Mayor George B. Swift, Health Commissioner Herr, John C. Spry, General Fitz Simmons, George H. Williams, George Jenney, H. Dorsey Patton, Thomas Sennott and many others prominent in the city's life, but not affiliated with the Lorimer section of the party.

They were the ostensible McKinley leaders in Illinois. As the time for the state convention approached they laid their plans for control. They reasoned in their conversations that, since some Cullom sentiment had been growing, if they were to succeed for McKinley they must capture the convention. That would serve a twofold purpose. It would win endorsement for McKinley and defeat Lorimer, Alderman Martin B. Madden (later to become one of the most respected members of Congress) and others of the anti-Swift group. McNulta felt that something should be done along this line, but Dawes insisted upon keeping out of local entanglements. He was not concerned about Cook County or Chicago politics. He wanted the

Illinois state convention to endorse McKinley, and that was all he did want. He felt pretty certain that the Swift group would be defeated by Lorimer and his friends downstate if Swift sought to control the convention, and he believed that such an attempt would be fatal to his one objective. He won McNulta to his way of thinking and on the day before the convention opened—it began on Wednesday, April 29, in Machinery Hall at the State Fair Grounds—he and the General went to call on John R. Tanner, candidate for governor, certain to be nominated, and well entrenched in control of the convention. They took with them W. F. Calhoun of Vermilion County, a boyhood friend of McKinley's in Ohio. Tanner at first would listen to no proposals, but Dawes convinced him that the McKinley group had enough delegates from over the state to make trouble for Tanner's ticket if he did not make a concession to them.

"I'm going to control this convention," Tanner told them flatly. "And my ticket will go through."

"Certainly," Dawes replied smoothly. "But if we make no fight for organization of the convention, will we have a fair show for presentation of our resolution instructing the four delegates-at-large for McKinley? That is what we want . . . . The Cullom crowd is planning a motion to adjourn as soon as the state ticket has been named,

"The Invisible Candidate." Cartoonist J. N. Darling, "Ding," of the New York Herald-Tribune Syndicate, was one of many cartoonists who regarded Dawes as a Presidential probability in 1928.

then they aim to break up the convention by shouting for Cullom. We want to get our resolution introduced. We'll look out for ourselves after that."

Tanner agreed to give them a "fair show," and Dawes, McNulta and Calhoun returned to the Swift group, who were still belligerent. They had to be talked into seeing what would happen to the McKinley endorsement if they persisted in their course. They capitulated grudgingly. Samuel M. Taylor, former Secretary of State of Ohio, was in Springfield criticizing the conduct of the McKinley campaign in Illinois. He wanted to fight, wanted McKinley's friends to dominate the convention. Taylor was regarded by all the Illinois McKinleyites, except Dawes, as Hanna's special agent in the state. Dawes was annoyed by Taylor's attitude, but held his peace. Throughout that Tuesday night the McKinley supporters whooped it up. A negro brass band from Chicago, and McKinley marching clubs from various parts of the state, paraded, sang, blared and shouted.

Although McKinley sentiment was well developed and militant, those Republican leaders who regarded themselves as divine right party pundits were jealous of the prominence Dawes had assumed—a young man who had been in Illinois scarcely two years! An attempt was made in a rump caucus to wrest that prominence from him.

It was held that evening in a Leland Hotel room, with C. W. Raymond, of Watseka, and William Tracy, of Springfield, in command. Instead of a meeting altogether of delegates elected in the accredited districts, it was attended by numerous hangers-on, designating themselves, "Friends of McKinley."

Dawes sat back in a corner of the room as the "caucus" progressed through the selection of Alexander H. Revell as chairman, and Edens as secretary. Then Edens was instructed to call the roll of the Congressional districts for reports from each, leading toward a vote on procedure by the group. Edens had called one district when Dawes leaped to his feet, tore off his coat, and in rasping, high-pitched, nervous voice, proceeded to tell those present that if any action were taken it would be by accredited delegates. He hammered the table as he spoke and he shook his fist at them.

"Who is that young man?" Mayor Swift of Chicago asked one of the delegates.

"That's Charlie Dawes," Swift was told.

"And who is Charlie Dawes?" Swift demanded.

"Why," the delegate scratched his head, "I guess he's running this thing for McKinley."

The meeting melted and there was no serious opposition to Dawes as McKinley leader in Illinois thereafter. The other McKinley delegates likewise "guessed" that he was managing the

campaign, and they looked to him for direction from that time until McKinley was elected.

The Tanner program went through as it had been planned, and the anti-McKinley faction—which included the Lorimer Cook County men, the Cullomites, and others—formed a coalition. It began to be apparent now that what Lorimer wanted was to become as important a boss in Illinois as Matt Quay was in Pennsylvania, or Thomas C. Platt was in New York. Tanner, flushed with the ease of his success in jamming himself through as candidate for governor, was half inclined to go along with Lorimer, for John Riley Tanner had ambitions, too. Calhoun, who had been taken into the inner circle by Dawes and McNulta, was chosen floor leader and orator for the McKinley group. Now Lorimer, Tanner, Madden and other anti-McKinley workers came partially into the open. They wanted an uninstructed delegation at large, and they said so. Dawes, who was trying to be everywhere, snatching scant moments of sleep, working constantly, was worried when he heard this. He was more worried during the palaver over naming Tanner's state ticket when his trial balloons—mention by four speakers of McKinley's name—failed to draw any excitement. The Cook County delegation caucused and the report carried to Dawes of the result—a determined stand against Swift for delegate at large,

and for an uninstructed delegation at large—was disturbing. McKinley scouts brought still more discouraging news from other caucuses.

Through the night of Wednesday, April 29, Dawes worked. He visited the headquarters of every district and jacked up the spirit of every known McKinley leader. Calhoun, no mean politician himself, worked as constantly, confining himself to the delegates from around the middle of the state, while McNulta looked after the downstaters—"The Egyptians." Early settlers in the southern part of Illinois, because of the fertility and pleasant warmth of mother nature in their new found homes, compared their district to the Delta of the Nile.

A young friend of Dawes, Frank Orren Lowden, forging ahead as a lawyer in Chicago, was married that evening to Florence Pullman at the George Pullman home on Prairie Avenue. Dawes was too busy at Springfield even to send congratulations. He thought of it a day later.

The last day of the month dawned warm and pleasant. There was an undercurrent of excitement around the Leland Hotel as the delegates and interested spectators began the milling that is a natural part of every political convention. The newspaper reporters moved from group to group, amassing the information which later would be sent tap-tapping over the telegraph wires in long,

long dispatches. George Ade, star reporter for The Chicago Record was there; so were John T. McCutcheon, and William Schmedtgen, who made pictorial records of the day. All newspaper illustrations then were by line drawings; the half-tone process for photographic reproduction was yet to come. Harold L. Ickes, later to become a prominent Chicago attorney, to enter politics as a Bull Moose supporter of Roosevelt, and to remain an opponent of standpat conservatism in the Republican party, was one of the reporters. So was Malcolm MacDowell, who would be an aide of Dawes in a few years.

From the pages of The Chicago Record of May 1, 1896, brightened by McCutcheon's and Schmedtgen's briliant drawings and cartoons, is taken the story of that final day. Charles H. Dennis, now editor of The Chicago Daily News, was managing editor of the Record. Ade was the star reporter of the staff; Ickes and MacDowell were the political writers. There were very few signed dispatches then such as there are to-day in the newspapers. Every reporter dug into his story and wrote it and sent it along. It was combined with the efforts of others to make a comprehensive whole.

Here, culled from nearly two solid pages of type, is the Record's account of the McKinley endorsement:

"....After what is said to be the bitterest fight ever held on the floor of a Republican convention in this state, the four delegates at large were instructed for the Ohio candidate. There was enthusiasm and plenty of it on both sides of the contest, but in the noise and yelling the McKinley forces had by far the best of it. In fact, it is said to-night that nearly as many votes were secured by shouting as by the other complications that entered into the defeat of Senator Cullom as a Presidential candidate. The Republican machine was in good control of the convention. Only twice was it beaten, and that was when James S. McCullough defeated Charles J. Kinnie by the narrow margin of three votes, and when McKinley was instructed [for]. Up to the time that the convention opened the McKinley men were admittedly fearful of the outcome of the battle for instructions. They used the McKinley victory in Vermont to the best possible advantage, and then the delegation of Sangamon county, Senator Cullom's own home, did a good share of the rest. As a result of a division of the vote of Sangamon the anti-instructionists lost all of the votes that had been counted upon from the Kinnie supporters, and David Littler was defeated for delegate at large. But the Republican machine secured sweet revenge for its defeat when it allied forces with the following of A. J. Hopkins, and crushed the am-

bition of Mayor George B. Swift to become a delegate-at-large to St. Louis.

"To-night McKinley enthusiasm is rampant in Springfield and the followers of the Ohio protectionist are shouting that the pivotal state has been carried, and that his nomination for President is a certainty. Many of the leaders who fought the instructions so fiercely in the convention are reluctantly admitting that the predictions of the McKinleyites are so well founded that they have to admit them. . . ."

Edward C. Akin was nominated to be the party candidate for attorney general following the selection of Tanner to head the state ticket.

"Immediately after the announcement of the vote on attorney general," the Record account resumes, "Charles E. Fuller of Boone county and W. F. Calhoun jumped upon their chairs and shouted: 'Mr. Chairman.'

"Mr. Berry* recognized Mr. Fuller first, and the Boone county man read a resolution instructing the four delegates-at-large to vote for Shelby M. Cullom in the National Republican convention and use all honorable means to secure his nomination for President of the United States."

Tanner had promised Dawes, Calhoun and Mc-

(*) State Senator O. F. Berry, permanent chairman of the convention.

Nulta a "fair show" in presenting their resolution. Evidently Berry knew nothing of the agreement. At any rate, the McKinleyites on the floor and in the gallery had expected the McKinley instruction resolution to come first.

"The mention of Cullom's name started an uproar in the body of the convention which startled the delegates. They could not hear Mr. Fuller's voice, and some wag told the men who wore the McKinley badges that a resolution endorsing the Ohio man had been read, and the McKinley men joined in with Cook County in cheers and yells. When the purport of the resolution was understood the contending forces broke out into yells, hisses, cries of: 'Yes, yes! No, no!'

"Every delegate in the hall was on his feet, his mouth wide open, his lungs at high pressure, and his hat waving in the air. The Cullom demonstration came when Secretary VanCleave read the resolution, and it broke out again when Mr. Fuller appeared at the chairman's desk to speak on his resolution. The Illinois senator was honored by a generous ovation in which Cook County took a large part. . . .

"The Cullom cheers broke out again when Mr. Fuller stepped down and W. F. Calhoun again sought recognition from the chair, but S. H. Bethea of Lee County caught the chairman first. He said:

"'Mr. Chairman, in behalf of the Republicans of North West Illinois, in behalf of the Republican voters of Illinois, I desire to offer the following amendment to the resolution: Resolved, that the name of William McKinley be inserted in the place of Shelby M. Cullom.'

"Men who have attended Illinois Republican conventions for many years said that they had never seen a demonstration equal to that which followed the closing words of Mr. Bethea. The McKinley men had been holding in their enthusiasm waiting for this, the critical and important part of the convention, and it burst out in one great, swelling roar. For ten minutes the cheers, yells, whistles, hand-clapping, whoops and screams swelled up to the glass dome to be sent back multiplied by the echo. It was one continuous, sustained, vibrant, wild ovation, and it seemed as though every delegate—except the bulk of Cook County's silent delegation—was on his feet. A hundred small silk flags fluttered with hundreds of handkerchiefs; scores of hats were thrown in the air, to fall and be trampled under the eager feet stamping for McKinley. The machine leaders watched the demonstration grimly, and Martin B. Madden climbed on a chair and waved his hand to attract the chairman's attention, but Madden was blanked by the McKinley men.

"W. F. Calhoun appeared on the platform when

the excitement was at its highest pitch. He was compelled to wait until strained vocal cords and wearied lungs refused further to show their loyalty to the Ohio man. Mr. Calhoun then stepped forward and said, 'Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the amendment offered by the gentleman from Lee County, and in behalf of that motion I ask for your patience but for a few moments . . . . .'"

It was a short speech, lasting scarcely ten minutes. There was no time to waste in oratory. The anti-instructionists were on the run and Dawes, sitting on the platform, for he was not a delegate, realized the importance of smashing in with the knockout blow. He held Calhoun to few words. The speaker merely added fuel to the flames. There was no animus against Cullom, he said, adding that, "The people, four years ago, turned over the government to the Democrats, with a resultant change not only in policy but in conditions among the people." It was time to return the government to the Republicans, he shouted, and a united front for the strongest candidate—McKinley—was the only way that could be brought about. Calhoun closed his speech, and there was another roar for the Ohioan, whooped up by good whoopers, judiciously placed among the delegates. As quiet was restored, Madden finally gained recognition.

"I simply arise," he said, "to offer an amend-

ment to the amendment and move its adoption, and I would ask the clerk to read it."

This was the amendment:

"Amend the amendment by adding the following words: 'And in case of the failure of McKinley's nomination, the Republicans of Illinois express their unfaltering confidence in the broad statesmanship and matchless ability of the Honorable Thomas B. Reed of Maine, and the Honorable William B. Allison of Iowa, and will gladly accept either as our national leader in the coming campaign.'"

Madden was a follower of Lorimer. Dawes and his colleagues in the Illinois McKinley camp at last saw a light. Lorimer and the anti-instructionists were not for Cullom. The Harrison badges sent into Indiana and other states, and credited to Lorimer, meant nothing but an attempt to stop McKinley. Reed was in the background—a crafty movement to swing the St. Louis convention to the Speaker of the House was the real objective.

Again the whoopers-up of the McKinley forces were given rapid fire instructions.

"Before Mr. Madden had a chance to climb down from the chair," relates the Record dispatch, "cries of, 'Oh, now you've shown your colors' came from the McKinley delegates. 'You're Reed men! You're Reed men! Cullom is a stalking horse.'"

But Dawes and Calhoun could not rely wholly upon a demonstration. They wanted a full, unequivocal endorsement of McKinley, with no strings attached. The effect upon other states was as essential as the effect upon Illinois voters.

"Mr. Calhoun rushed forward from the Vermilion County delegation with a point of order. A dozen leading McKinley men formed a group around him, for they were taking no chances in the fight. Mr. Calhoun, shaking his finger energetically at Chairman Berry, said:

" 'In order to understand the point that I desire to make, let me recite to you the condition in which the question now presented is: A general resolution is offered by the gentleman from Boone. An amendment is offered by the gentleman from Lee, which simply strikes out the name of the man in the original resolution and substitutes another. So that if that amendment is carried the sense of the resolution would then be complete in terms. But, now the gentleman from Cook offers an amendment to the amendment offered by the gentleman from Lee, which, if adopted, and attached to the amendment, would be inconsistent with the terms of the original motion, and would be incomplete in its form of expression.' "

The chairman hedged. It was a point for the convention to decide, said Senator Berry. Reinforcements were dispatched by Dawes to Cal-

houn's assistance before Lorimer could make an attempt to consolidate the position taken by his shock troops. Former Attorney General Hunt, then a Chicago lawyer who had remained in the background of the McKinley cohorts, succeeded Calhoun on the platform. In sonorous legal phraseology he assumed to straighten out the tangle, and added gratuitously that the people had expressed themselves in favor of McKinley and there should be no further endorsements. Calhoun closed the debate, but Lorimer was not finished. Amendment after amendment was rushed, by his lieutenants, to the chair, as cries of "Roll call!" reverbated against the glass dome. The chairman was forced at last to order a roll call.

The four delegates-at-large, yet to be chosen, were instructed, by a vote of 832 to 503, to cast their votes for McKinley in the St. Louis convention.

Then came the Lorimer revenge, which spelled political doom for Mayor Swift in Cook County. John M. Smyth of Chicago, chairman of the nominating committee, and a Lorimerite, reported as choices of his committee for delegates-at-large the names of Robert W. Patterson and William Penn Nixon of Chicago, Joseph W. Fifer of Bloomington, former governor of the state, and David T. Littler of Springfield. As alternates-at-large the names of Charles M. Pepper and James W. Ells-

worth of Chicago, George Perkins of Polo, and Pleasant D. Chapman of Buena, were proposed.

The Swift group—with no assistance from the McKinley general headquarters except moral support and best wishes—made a last ditch fight, as the Cook County minority, to select Richard J. Oglesby and Mayor Swift in place of Nixon and Littler, but they lost, 605 to 730. With adoption of the platform and the naming of minor candidates on the state ticket, the convention was adjourned.

CHAPTER FIVE

Remaining always in the background, content with attaining his objective and caring naught for personal publicity, which he knew would come to him after he had earned it through hard work, Dawes had won the delegates-at-large for McKinley. Furthermore, he had all but a few of the district delegates pledged. The others, with the exception of Lorimer's following in Cook County, were regarded as favorable to the Ohioan.

Joseph Fifer, Illinois national committeeman, went to St. Louis a week ahead of the opening of the Eleventh Republican National Convention. With him were the wheel horses of the party. As they sized up the field, before Hanna's arrival from Cleveland, via Canton, the nomination of McKinley appeared to be a certainty. Reed, Morton, Allison and Quay had not given up hope, and determined efforts were being made for them with the balance of strength supposed to be going to Reed when and if a break came from McKinley. The break never came. The principal debate centered around the platform adoption, following a futile fight in the Committee on Resolutions by the Free Silverites, thirty-four of whom bolted under the leadership of Henry M. Teller of Colo-

rado when unable to force their viewpoint upon the convention. Hanna, Myron T. Herrick, Charles Warren Fairbanks, Proctor, and Merriam and others of the Gold Standard party had their way. McKinley, a few years earlier, had been more or less of a free-coinage advocate, but now—believing with Hanna that the campaign could be conducted upon a tariff basis, avoiding the embarrassing subject of coinage altogether—he agreed to go the limit with a Gold Standard platform. McKinley was wrong about the tariff issue, for William Jennings Bryan made the silver issue paramount. The plank as adopted said, in part, "We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the earth, which agreement we pledge ourselves to promote; and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be maintained. All of our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designated to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth."

Fairbanks, of Indiana, was temporary chairman of the convention, the keynoter. His speech forecast the gold standard plank. John M. Thurston, of Nebraska, was made permanent chairman. Sen-

"Social Note from England." Cartoonist Vaughn Shoemaker, of The Chicago Daily News, found amusement in the Ambassador's plight during the Court Presentation season.

ator-elect Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, and was the orator who placed McKinley's name in nomination.

McKinley was nominated on Thursday, June 18, and Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey was named to be his running mate, only two weeks before Bryan reached the peak of his oratorical life with his "Cross of Gold and Crown of Thorns" speech in the Democratic National convention at Chicago. The final roll call gave McKinley, out of a total of 922 possible votes, 661½. Reed had 84½; Morton, 58½; Allison, 35½; and Quay, 61½.

Illinois had 48 votes to give. Forty-six were cast for McKinley—Lorimer and John M. Smyth holding out to the last for Reed.

T. N. Jamieson, an old Lorimer man and far from being a friend of Dawes, was elected national committeeman by the Illinois delegation for the ensuing four years. That, the oldsters said gleefully, would fix the young upstart, Dawes. Hanna, of course, was chosen chairman of the National Committee, and given rather broad powers in naming his Executive Committee—he could appoint men who were not members of the National Committee.

The convention had scarcely adjourned, and Republicans were flocking to Canton to make the first Front Porch Campaign a thing of history,

and, incidentally, to register themselves for future consideration, as appointees to office, when talk centered upon four Illinois men, one of whom would be chosen by Hanna for a place on the Executive Committee, and given charge of the Western campaign, with headquarters in Chicago.

H. H. Kohlsaat was one, according to newspaper gossip. Samuel W. Allerton was another. Dawes and Jamieson were the others. Jamieson was expected by the political writers to be the choice. But Hanna had seen Dawes at work and knew his ability—knew and approved, also, his methods of working with little talk, no personal publicity, and direct action toward a given objective. Hanna chose Dawes. He was the youngest member of the Executive Committee.

After the notification ceremonies at Canton, Mr. McKinley still believed that coinage would be forgotten, that protection of American industries through the tariff could be the only issue.

"This money matter," he said to Hanna, Judge William R. Day, and Kohlsaat, "is unduly prominent. In thirty days you won't hear anything about it."

"In my opinion," Day smiled, "in thirty days you won't hear of anything else."

And money—whether the currency of the United States should be upon a free silver, or a gold, standard—became the issue of the campaign.

That was a subject that Charles Dawes knew something about. But he made no speeches. Rather, his duties at the Chicago headquarters were again administrative. He was the organizer.

Ferdinand W. Peck, president of the Auditorium Hotel company, contributed the space in the Auditorium building on Wabash Avenue and to that office Dawes called the important national committeemen—those whom he knew could be depended on—and there he built his executive staff. Edens was called in and put to work. So was Perry S. Heath, of Muncie, Indiana . . . . Mr. Heath brought a capable young woman with him to be confidential secretary to Hanna and Dawes, Miss Bertha Deupler, of Anderson, Indiana. After serving as secretary to four Chicago postmasters Miss Deupler was married in 1908 to Jacob M. Baur, a wealthy Chicagoan, whose business, the Liquid Carbonic company of Chicago, she developed and managed after his death. In 1928 she became Republican committee-woman for Illinois.

To this Chicago McKinley headquarters came, too, Charles W. F. Dick, who would succeed Hanna in the Senate later from Ohio; General Osborne, cousin of McKinley; Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin; Albert B. Cummins, soon to be governor of Iowa and later one of the state's greatest contributions to the United States Senate; Cyrus Leland, national committeeman of Kansas; former

Governor Merriam, and Cushman Davis of Minnesota. Daniel Wing, Assistant Cashier of the First National Bank of Lincoln, entered the executive group. Later he would be appointed a national bank examiner by Dawes, and become one of the nation's leading bankers, in Boston.* Henry May Dawes, just graduated from Marietta college, came to Chicago to get his first political experience under his dynamic older brother.

Hanna made Chicago his principal headquarters, spending more time there than in the Eastern office in New York, for the real battle ground was in the West. Bryan could do nothing in the Eastern states.

There had been hard times, a panic in 1893, and its effects were still being felt in unemployment. The people knew what tariff meant as a national political issue, but this free silver thing was something new to them, abstruse. Vaguely they had the idea, from Bryan's speeches, that if something could be done in Washington to make more silver money, since everybody knew that silver was cheaper than gold, there would be more money, and so poor people would all be better off. Obvi-

(*) Daniel G. Wing, as a bank examiner sent by Dawes to Boston, so ably placed his fingers upon the troubles of an ailing bank that its directors made him president of the institution. In 1930 he had risen to chairmanship of the board of The First National of Boston, ninth largest banking firm in the United States.

ously, with the issue of money thrust upon them, the Republicans had to conduct an "educational campaign." That cost money, and Hanna saw that money was raised, much money. Some writers have said that the Republicans spent ten dollars to every one raised and dispensed by the Democrats. Others have maintained that the ratio was nearer a hundred to one.

Hanna caused to be published a total of nearly 120,000,000 pamphlets, containing excerpts from McKinley's speeches. The newspapers had to be supplied with drawings. Bales of pictures, posters, cartoons were printed. The result of the Republican "educational campaign" and Bryan's efforts—almost alone, he worked, and with little money in his national party coffers—was unlimited enthusiasm and a mammoth vote for those days, nearly 14,000,000. McKinley received in the popular tally 7,111,607 to Bryan's 6,509,052. McKinley's electoral vote was 271 to 176 for Bryan. In Illinois McKinley was given 607, 130 votes to 465,613 as Bryan's total. McKinley carried twenty-three states, Bryan and Sewall twenty-four.

That was a busy summer for Dawes, that summer of 1896. The campaign began almost at once and it did not end until election day. It was one of the "hottest" Presidential campaigns in the nation's history, the like of which the United States may never see again. The 1928 contest between

Herbert Clark Hoover, Republican, and Alfred Emmanuel Smith, Democrat, was a Thursday Ladies' Club Tea in comparison. Bitterness there was in 1928, but the bitterness that was aroused over the argument between "Sound Money" and "Free Silver" was greater even than the complicated situation caused by the nomination of Governor Smith, an East Side New Yorker, a Roman Catholic and an advocate of modification of the federal prohibition laws.

Contrast the 1928 campaign, with men and women voters—the women of course did not vote in 1896—sitting at home and listening to speeches by the two candidates broadcast by radio, to the doings of 1896—the enthusiasm, the night rallies when men marched in oilcloth capes, to prevent drippings from the kerosene torches on poles over their shoulders from ruining their clothes. Every boy able to walk took sides, and they fought like little devils, those youthful adherents of McKinley and the supporters of Bryan, while their elders were almost as rabid. The Middle West was aflame. It set its own self afire, but the fire had to be kept at white heat. What a job it was for the campaign managers of both sides!

Illinois was a pivotal state in the election, as in the nomination campaign. Bryan had been born at Salem, Illinois, his campaigners pointed out, so that every man who could read came to know

it. There were thousands of farmers who had read Bryan's argument for bimetallism and believed him right, especially since he was championing their cause against Wall Street, against "The Interests." Some of them heard his "Cross of Gold" speech; more of them read it in the newspapers, or pamphlets. They heard him speak, were carried away by his magnetism. He was all over the state; all over the country, his wide mouth ever open and thundering words that sounded convincing. His broad smile, his all-enveloping gestures, his magnetic appeal, were winning votes. There was no doubt about that.

McKinley was the opposite. His deep-set eyes were quiet. His voice was not raised belligerently. Most of his campaign was of the front porch variety at his home. Mrs. McKinley, an invalid, could not travel with him, and so he remained close to Canton.

That made the task for the Republican National Committee all the more difficult. Dawes had one of the hardest jobs of all, for the man on the fence, as the campaign progressed, was inclined to believe that the silver-tongued advocate of Free Silver might carry Illinois, and could be elected President.

Dawes needed men in Illinois, and in the states of the West, upon whom he could depend, men who would work, and work as hard as he worked

—and that was day and night. He had plenty of volunteers, men who put their money and their ability, their persuasive powers, their business and organization energies behind the tireless whirlwind. There were plenty of commissioned officers in his political election campaign army, and some noncoms, but he had mighty few privates upon whom he could depend at close range.

Frequently he took his luncheon and dinner at the Union League Club where he could divide his time between eating—Dawes has never eaten much and has always felt that time at table was wasted—and talking over tactics and men and funds. As he handed in his hat at the club's check room he came to notice a red-cheeked, bright-eyed lad on the other side of the counter. This youngster was always just a jump ahead of Dawes. Perhaps it was the boy's intelligence, perhaps it was his beautiful Irish brogue which attracted, but Dawes began talking to him, and always he received a carefully worded reply. The check boy was quick to act, but before answering questions Dawes could see the answer coming before it was uttered—and usually the answer contained wisdom . . . . If the boy could not answer a question, he said so.

As he surrendered his hat one evening Dawes was handed a big envelope, packed fat and held together with a couple of rubber bands.

"What the dickens is this?" Dawes asked, as he

turned the neatly bound package in his hands.

"Clippings about Major McKinley, sir."

"H'm. Where did you get them?"

"I picked them out of the papers that had been thrown away, and saved them for you, sir."

Dawes gave the check boy a long, steady survey.

"What's your name?" he asked.

"Francis J. Kilkenny, sir."

"Come upstairs and have dinner with me."

"I am in uniform, sir, and employes are not permitted to eat in the dining room with the members."

"Go see the manager and tell him I want you to come up," Dawes directed. "I want to talk to you."

Kilkenny was not so much of a boy as he seemed. In the United States for five years and just out of the School of Commerce course at Notre Dame university, he had taken the first job that offered itself, since they were scarce that year around Chicago. Kilkenny did talk to Dawes in the dining room of the Union League club.

"How would you like to work for me?" Dawes asked him.

"Fine, Mr. Dawes."

"When can you start?"

"As soon as I can get a man to take my job in the check room, sir. I'll go see the manager."

Kilkenny started to work for Dawes within a

week as confidential assistant. What messages he carried and what he did during the campaign nobody has ever been able to drag out of Francis Kilkenny. He was a confidential messenger—almost a confidential secretary—and that was that.

It was apparently an impulsive thing for Dawes to do, hiring the Irish lad, Kilkenny, in this way. But Dawes had looked him up long before he spoke to him, and had found out what he wanted to know. Kilkenny's predecessor in charge of the check room had been dropped from the pay roll because he was too curious about what the gentlemen might have in their overcoat pockets. The management knew Kilkenny had plenty of curiosity about a lot of things, but his curiosity and his integrity never got short circuited. Also, he could keep his own counsel, and use his ears and eyes for the purposes for which God intended they should be used.

Upon McKinley's inauguration in 1897 Dawes was appointed Comptroller of the Currency and Francis Kilkenny went to Washington with him. Although Dawes resigned and returned to Chicago in 1901 to look after his political ambitions, Kilkenny remained in Washington until 1916, when he, too, went back to Chicago to establish himself as a bond broker. When the United States entered the world war, Kilkenny enlisted as a private soldier, and Dawes secured him and another

youngster, D. H. Mulloney of Washington, to be his aides in France. Unable to compete with gold lace and brass hat dignity as noncommissioned officers, Kilkenny and Mulloney were made lieutenants. Kilkenny was again with Dawes when he organized the Bureau of the Budget, and was his personal campaign manager in 1924.

As Comptroller of the Currency, Dawes took his energetic and, to say the least, disturbing mannerisms, into the Treasury building with him. He had learned things about the federal government's way of doing business in that study of financial affairs back in Lincoln. He had itched to correct some of those methods. Drastic rulings were issued from his office, and he was backed up in them by the President. One provided for second assessment levies on stockholders of insolvent national banks in cases where first assessments had been less than were authorized by law. Another ruling established the practice of giving rebates to stockholders for excessive assessments. Depositors were fully protected for the first time.

He collected more than $25,000,000 for depositors from banks which had failed in the money panic of 1893. The system of making annual reports to Congress was begun in his office, and under his direction were prepared the first complete national banking statistics. National bank examiners were placed on a higher footing, their au-

thority strengthened, and they were prohibited, while connected with the government, from taking private employment with banks.

Red tape interfered with everything, as Dawes found when he entered the office. He slashed right and left, with tongue and figurative scissors. Frequently he was called to the White House, and his associates noticed that whenever he received such a call, no matter how urgent, he always took time to wash his face and hands at the little cabinet in the corner of his office.

"Why do you take the time for that?" one of the more curious asked one day. "Especially when the President seems to be in a hurry?"

"Well," Dawes drawled in reply as he dried his hands, "in Europe when one is summoned before the chief of the country's administration he puts on short pants, fusses up generally, and in some places even slips on a powdered wig. We don't do things like that in this country, but the least I can do when called by the President is to go with a clean face."

A friend from Evanston was sitting in his office one afternoon when a very pompous Senator from a Middle Western state was announced. The visitor rose hastily from his chair and started to go.

"You come back here," Dawes snapped, as he told the colored doorman to send the Senator in. "You might enjoy this."

The Senator entered, his cheeks puffed out, his eyes blazing. He was accompanied by a group of principal stockholders of a bank that had been through a rather shady experience, and the stockholders, caught with their hands in the wrong pockets, had been forced to pay up. There had been rumblings from the office of the Senator on Capitol Hill, for the principal stockholders were influential in his party's politics back home. The Senator introduced the men, and started to let out some of the fireworks that were condensed within him, when Dawes banged on the table with his fist.

"Senator," he barked and hammered the table again until his inkwells danced a fandango, "I'm glad you called. If there is anything you know about these men you have so kindly brought in to my office, anything that will aid me in presentation of evidence against them to the Department of Justice, I wish you would state it immediately before these semi-criminals start talking."

The Senator wilted. The bank stockholders tried numbly to decide whether it would be better to go out through the door, or a window. The Senator had come there with every intention in the world of showing off before his influential constituents. Let them see him give this whipper-snapper Dawes a thorough tongue lashing for presuming to penalize such fine men as they. The Senator gasped two or three times, but words would not

come. He looked with glassy eyes at the sheaf of impressive papers Dawes held in his hands—probably departmental reports, although they might have been the evidence—gurgled something, and wabbled from the office, preceded by his thoroughly scared constituents.

"Why on earth did you jump Senator Blank?" the caller asked when he recovered from his amazement, and Dawes was sitting calmly again in his chair, and grinning.

"Huh!" Dawes laughed. "He knew I had the goods on those people, but he thought he was going to bluff me out of it. When that kind of person," his lips curled slightly, "comes to me looking for trouble, I bite first. You see, I have been investigating that case personally and I knew what I was doing. There was no bluff on my part."

Although not of Cabinet rank, Dawes found himself one of McKinley's closest advisers, perhaps the closest, on an even more intimate basis than Hanna enjoyed. The President supported his Comptroller in all that he did, and, while there would be rumblings later on Capitol Hill when Dawes became a political factor in his own name, there was little objection to him and his works from the Congress now. A frequent visitor to the White House office on governmental business, Dawes won McKinley's admiration, and the Comptroller and Mrs. Dawes were often informal

callers at the executive residence in the evenings. There, with the President looking solicitously after his invalid wife's welfare, Dawes would sit down before a grand piano and let his fingers make music. Now he would improvise, now play something of the popular music of the day, now a bit from an opera.

As 1900 approached and Governor Theodore Roosevelt of New York was looming large, McKinley would have retired to private life, but Hanna, now junior Senator from Ohio, and the other major party leaders, would have none of that. McKinley could and would be renominated and reëlected, they assured him. There was no outstanding issue before the people, who had been permitted to quiet down after the 1896 excitement.

The Spanish-American war came and passed into history. Then came the year 1900 and tacit agreement pretty well over the country that there would be no doubt of McKinley's continuance in the White House for another four years. The only problem the Republicans faced was the nomination of a Vice Presidential candidate. Elihu Root was agreed upon but he flatly refused to accept. Then the Roosevelt boom began. Hanna was not particularly impressed with Roosevelt; he sought a third New Yorker, Cornelius N. Bliss, who refused; and Charles Warren Fairbanks, preferring to remain in the Senate from Indiana—although

regarded as McKinley's personal choice—likewise avoided it. Numerous others set up their own lightning rods but none was of great enough political stature to make an impression outside his home state.

Roosevelt had become obnoxious to Platt, the New York boss, and Quay, who lorded it over Pennsylvania; and they, with the idea of "kicking him upstairs," out of New York politics and out of Albany, where, as governor, he could not be "handled" by Platt, started a serious boom for the "Rough Rider."

When the 1900 Republican National Convention opened in Philadelphia, McKinley refused to utter one word in favor of any man who might, had he spoken the word, have been called the Administration candidate for Vice President. Roosevelt, with his Rough Rider hat, was a prominent and magnetic figure in the Philadelphia hotels.

Dawes, now of real political stature, due to his close relationship to the President, was chosen a delegate-at-large in the Illinois state convention, and as such, with entry where he pleased in the convention and around the headquarters, was McKinley's constant adviser. He telephoned to George Bruce Cortelyou, Secretary to the President, who took the Dawes reports in shorthand, even when the President was listening silently on an extension 'phone.

Hanna and others who were not entirely enthusiastic about Roosevelt were doing what they could to stem the tide that was rising in his favor, but Dawes, in his telephonic report, on the night of June 19, to the White House urged a continuance of the "hands off" policy. Secretary Cortelyou's record of his conversation on this subject with Dawes, as quoted by Charles S. Olcott in his *Life of William McKinley,* ran like this:

"Mr. Dawes: In the matter of the Vice Presidency I think there should be non-interference. That has been understood to be the attitude thus far in all matters about the Vice Presidency; and as a result of that the Western delegations are rather getting behind their candidates and some of the Eastern delegations behind their candidates, and the lines are drawn with the idea that Roosevelt's declination is final. There is an inclination now for the Administration to step in along later in the night [this was 8:40 p. m.] and announce that perhaps it is best for Mr. Long [Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long] to be the candidate. I think that is based on a wrong diagnosis of the situation. I think as soon as that is announced the delegations of the west will say, 'That is dictation,' and will change their votes to Roosevelt, which isn't desired . . . . Some of the delegations—Illinois, Michigan, Kansas and Iowa—will put their votes in for Roosevelt and the very thing

will be accomplished that nobody seems to want. . . . It is not a question of any man. It is very doubtful whether Long can be nominated anyhow. The wise thing and altogether the best thing in my judgment is just to let the Administration continue in its present position: That it is the duty of the convention to select the candidate, especially now under the present peculiar situation . . . . ."

"Mr. Cortelyou: What is the feeling about the New York man, is there any ugly feeling?"

"Mr. Dawes: Yesterday there was a great deal of ugly feeling. He does not want the nomination and Hanna, in trying to get some other man is doing what he—Roosevelt—wants and what his best friends want, but there is quite a feeling over it. George Perkins is here and thinks that it is wrong to allow Roosevelt to go on the ticket."

President McKinley, who had been listening, replied with this third person advice:

"The President's close friends must not undertake to commit the Administration to any candidate. The convention must make the nomination; the Administration would not if it could. The President's close friends should be satisfied with his unanimous nomination and not interfere with the Vice Presidential nomination . . . ."

At one o'clock the next morning Dawes again telephoned Secretary Cortelyou.

"I went over to see Hanna and read him the

[President's] statement and talked it over. He was a little perplexed about it, but of course accepted it. Then I have been representing Dolliver, in a sense [Jonathan P. Dolliver of Iowa]. I am a Dolliver man. I went and saw Dolliver and Senator Allison, and told them the situation. They said their man should have his chance, and a conference had already been called at Mr. Bliss' room, to which Mr. Hanna asked me, as representing Dolliver. I have just come from that conference. Mr. Bliss, Mr. Hanna, Senator Spooner, Mr. Plunkett, Henry C. Payne, and Senator [Henry Cabot] Lodge were there. I made a statement. The New York delegation has just met and Mr. Bliss came in from it. The New York delegation has decided to support and present Woodruff. The question came up as to what should be done and Senator Lodge believes, and all of them insist, that the Administration should indicate a preference for Secretary Long. I waited until they had discussed it some. I said I came representing Mr. Dolliver, and after consultation with Mr. Dolliver and Senator Allison I was to say that they would insist that Mr. Dolliver should have a chance in connection with the nomination. The decision before that had been that the Administration—Mr. Hanna saying nothing during all this time—would name Long on the first ballot, afterwards Roosevelt. Somebody said, 'Well, that

settles it. It will be Roosevelt.' The matter then was settled, that Senator Hanna announce that the only thing for him to do under these circumstances was to keep clear of it. They then discussed whether the Administration should not for the sake of appearances turn in and nominate Roosevelt. They determined that would be unwise.

"Each man pledged himself not to say anything about what was said up there, or any conclusion that was reached, but there will be none reached there. I simply got up and said I was through; that my presence there was simply to state the position of Mr. Dolliver's friends. They are up there yet. Senator Hanna told me before I went away that he was going to do just as he was told to do from Washington to-day."

Roosevelt was nominated on June 21, after McKinley had been unanimously renominated. Lafayette Young of Iowa placed Roosevelt in nomination after withdrawing Dolliver. In the subsequent election McKinley and Roosevelt had 292 electoral votes to 155 for Bryan and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois.

These reports have been quoted as evidence of the part Dawes played in the nomination of Roosevelt. It has been said, somewhat ambiguously, that Dawes had something to do with the New Yorker's ascendancy. McKinley, because his hands-

off policy was religiously adhered to, was the more responsible, according to Olcott. Dawes, who really preferred Dolliver, aided negatively by following instructions to "the President's close friends," just as Hanna did. Platt and Quay made Roosevelt by their efforts to get rid of an embarrassing governor of New York.

CHAPTER SIX

When he was carrying the speaking end of the Coolidge-Dawes campaign in 1924, General Dawes had a stock answer for people who asked his opinions.

"I don't know anything about politics," he would say. Then, with a smile: "I thought I knew something about politics once. I was taken up on top of a twenty story building and showed the promised land—and then I was kicked off."

He would laugh. That was a disarming answer for persons whom he desired to disarm. He would really enjoy the laugh, too, but it was not so funny in 1902. There has been a suggestion that Dawes was given the well known political decoration, known as the double cross, in that 1902 affair, and by no less a person than the Blond Boss, William E. Lorimer. Dawes has never said that, although he had reason to know that Lorimer never was his friend, never was an aid to him in his desire to further that political ambition when it was growing ripe. Lorimer did not "double cross" Dawes. He simply did his best to defeat Dawes. The loss at the Springfield Convention still rankled.

With McKinley safely renominated, reëlected,

and inaugurated for his second term, with the program of "sound money" established as well as the Administration ever would establish it, Dawes began to sit back in his hard oaken chair in the Treasury building and turn his thoughts inward. So far in politics—since 1896—he had been active in national affairs, but mute. In the Senate, as the junior member from Illinois, he could voice ideas. He could be of use there. William Dawes had ridden with Paul Revere; Manasseh Cutler had helped tame the Western wilderness, Rufus R. Dawes had served in Congress. Charles Dawes had served, also, as Comptroller of the Currency. He could serve more as a Senator—and Presidents often graduated to their high office from the Senate.

Through all of his thinking about his own political ambitions, however vague and unvoiced they were, there ran the parallel thought of service. He, too, would do something for the country his people had helped make.

And so, on July 5, 1901, he dispatched his resignation to the White House. McKinley understood. There was no serious objection, only regret at losing a close friend, a young friend whom he and Mrs. McKinley liked, a young official who was dependable in the government. The resignation was announced in the newspapers; likewise the Dawes intention of becoming a candidate for

the Senate. He would return to Evanston on October 1.

"There is not much to say," he told the Washington reporters when they called at his office. "I realize I will have a hard fight and will have to get over the state and get acquainted. I am going to establish headquarters in Chicago and try to work through every county. I expect"—a grin—"to shake the hands of a lot of Illinoisans before the county conventions meet. After elections of the delegates I will again take my grip in hand and get all the endorsements possible. I think I am going to win."

Senator William E. Mason, who wished to succeed himself, was annoyed. He said little, however. Mason's "friends" (that comfortable expression so often used by reporters prevented from direct quotation of private interviews) said that Dawes was building his Senatorial aspirations on the belief that he could lift himself into the Capitol on federal patronage. Use of patronage in politics is always a crime in the opinion of the fellow who has less or none to use. There was other opposition, too. George E. Foss entered the contest from the tenth Illinois congressional district in which Dawes lived, and Foss was a pretty well known member of Congress. Dawes had an advantage over both Mason and Foss which they realized was a big one—he would have all fall and

The "Dawes Pipe."
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winter to get himself acquainted, to formulate his campaign, while they must remain in Washington, since Congress was in session. Politicians turned their eyes from a study of Dawes, and his words uttered in Washington, to look at Governor Richard C. Yates. Yates, as head of the party in Illinois, would have a lot to do with the nomination of Senator by the state convention, and something to do with the election by the 44th General Assembly in the next spring.

Then the assassin, Leon F. Czolgosz, with a revolver concealed in a handkerchief, changed the trend of American history. As President McKinley stood in the Temple of Music at the Buffalo exposition, September 6, 1901, shaking hands with a long line of men and women, Czolgosz, an anarchist, fired two shots into the President's body. A week later McKinley died.

Theodore Roosevelt succeeded to the Presidency, and before Dawes, who, with members of the McKinley family, had been with the President when he died, had become acquainted with the new occupant of the White House, his resignation became effective. He went to Evanston to open his campaign for the Senate without a great deal of enthusiasm.

A month before McKinley's death, William G. Edens, who had been appointed to the Fourth Assistant Postmaster's department and who had been

making frequent trips from Washington to Illinois in the interest of the Dawes Senatorial campaign, went to Canton to see the President for a young Illinoisan who wanted his father, who had been honorably discharged from the army in the Philippines because of physical disabilities, reinstated to captain's rank. When the business of the call had been concluded McKinley drew Edens aside.

"How is Mr. Dawes coming along in his Senatorial campaign?" the President asked.

"I believe he is certain of selection by the legislature," Edens replied.

"That," the President smiled eagerly, "is exactly what I hear from all my friends in the state. I hope everything goes well for him. He is a fine young man with a great deal of promise. You know, Mr. Edens, not many men would have resigned from the powerful office of Comptroller of the Currency before entering a campaign for another powerful office."

The death of McKinley made a great change in the life of Dawes. With the full support of President McKinley, the President's endorsement before the Illinois General Assembly, and the assistance of all the federal office holders in the state, Dawes would have had a good chance of election to the Senate. Had he developed there as he did in the financial life he entered, it is reasonable to believe that he would have risen to the Presidency.

It is interesting, at least, to move in imagination the chess pieces of fate and speculate upon what might have happened.

The two Illinois Senators, Shelby M. Cullom, whom Dawes had defeated in 1896 for the Illinois Presidential endorsement, and Mason, went to the White House a week after Dawes had left Washington—on October 9—and were closeted with President Roosevelt for some time. When they came out Mason had little to say about the Senatorial campaign; Cullom said nothing.

"I am perfectly satisfied with what Mr. Roosevelt said concerning my fight," Mason told the White House reporters who flocked around him, as they did—and do—around every visitor coming from the inner office. "I can't repeat our conversation, but I am convinced President Roosevelt is going to accord the treatment he should give to a Republican United States Senator, and perhaps a little more. Mr. Roosevelt has known me as a Republican since 1888, when we campaigned New York and New Jersey together for Harrison. I am satisfied that President Roosevelt would like to see me returned to the Senate."

"There is a rumor that Mr. Dawes is going to withdraw, or has withdrawn, from the contest," one of the reporters told Senator Mason. "Do you know anything about that?" The other writers listened eagerly. Gossip around Washington had

it that Mason himself had started that rumor.

"I received a telegram last night saying that Mr. Dawes would withdraw," was the carefully worded answer.

"Who sent you the telegram, Senator?"

"That I cannot tell you. There are rumors in Washington that Mr. Dawes will withdraw. I have had nothing to do with circulating those rumors."

If Dawes had resigned from the Comptroller's office and announced his Senatorial candidacy in the expectation of having federal patronage support in Illinois, it was certain now that he could not count on any such thing. The postmasters, the collectors, the United States marshals, the district attorneys—the men who ordinarily make up a "federal machine" in any state—may have been McKinley men up to September 6, but, like the courtiers of old, they quickly concealed their grief. The President is dead; long live the President. They were Roosevelt men now, and Mason was good enough politician to know that. So was Dawes. So was Roosevelt. He would serve the term he had inherited, and then he would be a candidate for renomination. He would want staunch Republicans in every state—he would need Mason, and he could count on Mason. He might not be able to count on Dawes, who had done so well for McKinley.

Dawes did not withdraw, but continued going over the state, getting acquainted with new men, renewing acquaintances with the Republicans who had worked with him in 1896. Malcolm MacDowell, who had been a star political reporter on The Chicago Record, and who knew Illinois politics as well as the next one, resigned from the newspaper staff to join Dawes as his campaign aid.

Another candidacy began to loom, that of Congressman Arthur S. Hopkins of Aurora, who had the fine hand of Lorimer behind him. He had helped Lorimer in the state convention in 1896. The tactics of the campaign changed.

Joseph G. Cannon—"Uncle Joe"—with his blunt chin whiskers and eternal cigar—and Representative Hopkins were credited with taking the Illinois Senatorial campaign onto the floor of Congress. They were quoted as saying that when they "got through with Dawes he would be out of the fight." Congressman James A. Hemenway of Indiana, chairman of the Appropriation Committee, proposed a bill to limit the salary of employes in the office of Comptroller of the Currency to $4,000 a year. Then Congressman Ebenezer S. Hill of Connecticut stepped into the drive with a speech on the floor of the House in which he charged that numerous high salaried persons had been carried on the Comptroller's

pay roll for the last five years, their names not appearing in the government Blue Book. He proposed an amendment directing the Comptroller annually to report to the Speaker of the House with a detailed statement regarding the expenses of liquidating every national bank that had failed.

Congressman James R. Mann of Illinois defeated the Hemenway plan, but the Hill amendment was adopted, and an order was issued to Comptroller William Barrett Ridgely, who had succeeded Dawes, directing him at once to furnish the Congress with the names of all persons who had been employed by the Comptroller for the past five years.

The Hopkins group declared that they would be able to show the public—naturally they meant the people of Illinois, although they did not say so—that Dawes had used the office of Comptroller to handle defunct banks in such a manner as to enrich his friends and to further his own political ambitions. The charges were made on the floor by Congressman Hopkins that "persons with political influence were given positions as receivers and bank examiners at large salaries; that political lawyers were given exorbitant fees for alleged legal services rendered to receivers of failed banks, and, in short, that Mr. Dawes looted the banks after they had passed into control of his department."

After he had talked with Senator Cullom, Comptroller Ridgely put a force of clerks to work at once. "I feel certain," Ridgely told interviewers on the trail of a juicy Treasury scandal, "that nothing seriously affecting Mr. Dawes' record will be found."

That was the last word heard about "scandal" in the Dawes administration of the Comptroller's office. Whether Hopkins had really expected to find something scandalous in the record obtained from Comptroller Ridgely was never known. It was "good politics," however, and it smacked of Lorimer tactics. The public back home likes to read about people in public office who have been untrue to their trust.

Then Hopkins pitched himself into the Senatorial fight in earnest, and he had formidable assistance—Governor Yates and Billy Lorimer. That annoyed Senator Cullom, who had kept entirely aloof from the fight, except for his call with Mason at the White House, because, come what may, he was opposed to Lorimer, and opposed to a liaison between Lorimer and Yates for control of Republican politics in Illinois. A manifesto was prepared by the state Republicans opposed to Lorimer, protesting against "tactics of the Yates, Lorimer and Hopkins clique" to place Hopkins in the Senate. The manifesto was circulated among the members of the Illinois delegation in Congress,

and it was found that supporters of both Dawes and Mason were aligned against Yates, Lorimer and Hopkins in signing it.

"Lorimer is using Cook County tactics in state politics," Senator Cullom roared, "and unless he is stopped he will wreck the party!"

There were charges made throughout the state —not denied until months later—that Yates was assessing every public employe five per cent of his annual salary for campaign funds for Hopkins. Cullom inveighed heartily against that. Then Cullom went to Chicago to look things over and, returning to Washington within a week, issued a red hot blast against the whole state machine.

"I have signed the manifesto," he declared. "I am convinced that if the Republican party in Illinois is to be successful it must free itself of Lorimer and his kind. Then there's Yates—he's governor. He does just as Lorimer says. Next comes Rowe, chairman of the state committee. They both think Lorimer is such a great man that they are emulating his kind of politics.

"The Republicans of Illinois are decided on four things: Lorimer must be killed off; Rowe must stop using the state organization of the party to bolster up the political ambitions of one man; the taxing of office holders must cease, and all the candidates for Senator must be given an equal chance. I have always opposed Lorimer's tactics.

The Republicans of Illinois will see the common sense in this move, and I am certain they will rally to the fight to save the party from disgrace."

Poor old Cullom! What a mess Republican party politics in Illinois had to go through in later years, how much worse it had to get before it even showed symptoms of getting any better!

Now there was a definite alliance between Cullom, Mason and Dawes, with Lawrence Y. Sherman, then speaker of the house, drawn in as generalissimo. Yates, Lieutenant Governor Northcutt, Chairman Rowe, Col. J. H. Strong, Former Senator Homer Aspinwall and Lorimer, just back from a short vacation in California, put their heads together. Sherman went to Chicago for a long talk with a young man who was coming up fast in the party, largely through Lorimer's assistance—Charles Samuel Deneen, state's attorney for Cook County. Deneen promised Sherman nothing, for he knew that Lorimer would control the Cook County convention and probably control the state convention. Deneen, too, had political ambitions, and Billy Lorimer was powerful. It were best to keep his hands off the Senatorial fight—and Deneen did just that.

As the conventions met in the first week of April, it was quite apparent that only two candidates had a chance—Dawes and Hopkins. Mason was out of it. Luther Laflin Mills announced a candidacy

in Dawes' home district after Foss had dropped out, but in spite of Mills' mass of post card pledges, his candidacy was not taken seriously. The anti-Lorimer group—even with some of Dawes' best political friends concurring—began to think of tactics to defeat Lorimer, Yates and Hopkins at any cost, even to the extent of dropping Dawes. They cautiously tried talk of a compromise candidate upon whom all could agree. They proposed the name of Frank Orren Lowden. Lowden's potential candidacy died a-borning.

The convention opened on Thursday, May 8. On May 1 reports were circulated over the state to the effect that Yates was going to take no chances and that he would make himself chairman of the convention. Instead of pleasing Hopkins, as Yates thought that rumor would do, the Aurora man was annoyed. "The only chance their candidate has of defeating us," he was quoted as saying, "lies in the possibility of some fool break by the Governor."

Yates was called off and, after Lorimer had carried away the Cook County convention on May 6, Uncle Joe Cannon was agreed upon as chairman. The Yates opponents did not like that, but they were better satisfied with Cannon than they would have been with the Governor.

It all seemed so hopeless to the anti-Lorimer group, particularly after President Roosevelt openly endorsed Hopkins, that they urged Dawes

to withdraw. He refused flatly, and Sherman stuck with him, but when Fred Busse, leader of a powerful Chicago faction, was promised the nomination for State Treasurer, and what little Lorimer opposition might have been developed in the Cook County delegation was nullified, Hopkins was endorsed. The 44th General Assembly, by a vote of 1,015 to 492, was "requested to elect him Senator." With that, Dawes formally withdrew from the contest, although the Assembly would not convene until the following winter. He knew, which Mason did not—for the latter continued his fight for reëlection up to the last—when he was whipped, knew when a smart opposition had driven a wedge into his own force and weakened what effective strength it might have had. "Good politics" again.

Dawes returned to Chicago. The Floradora sextet, with Edna Wallace Hopper, had just come to town, and Mount Pelee was in eruption at Martinique. But Dawes was not interested. His political ambitions were gone—gone for all time. Never again would he have anything to do with politics. He went to the Congress hotel and met two of his best friends. They had dinner. The two friends sympathized with Dawes. In a spirit that was half serious, half jest, the three of them held up their rights hands and solemnly swore never again to have anything to do with politics.

One of the two friends was Frank O. Lowden, who became governor of Illinois and a congressman; who was almost nominated for President in 1920, who was nominated in 1924 for Vice President and refused to accept, and who failed, in 1928, to defeat Herbert Hoover for the Presidential nomination at Kansas City. The other was Harry S. New, later to become a Senator from his home state of Indiana and Postmaster General of the United States under President Harding, and something of a political engineer in his own right.

Lorimer forced the election of Hopkins through the state legislature that winter, but when Hopkins's six year term was finished and he sought reelection, he ran into a political ambition that was greater than his own. William E. Lorimer was chosen instead, one of the last Illinois Senators to be elected by the legislature.

CHAPTER SEVEN

As the Senatorial campaign was drawing to a close, Dawes went one evening to the Woodlawn section on the South Side of Chicago to make a speech. He took with him his cousin, William Ruggles Dawes, who was then cashier of the Chicago Post Office, and as they were sitting together in the smoking car of a puffy, jerky Illinois Central suburban train—so different from the swiftly-gliding electrified cars of to-day—"C. G." was unusually silent.

"Will," he said suddenly, after a long pull on his cigar, "can you organize a bank?"

"Certainly," William replied.

"Well, the State convention meets on the 8th of May. Unless I am greatly mistaken Hopkins will be endorsed, and we will open The Central Trust Company of Illinois within sixty days of that date. Can you do it?"

"Certainly," William repeated, although back in his mind was the idea that it would be a pretty big job. He resigned immediately from his Post Office duties and started to work, drawing together the stray ends of a myriad of details.

William R. Dawes had been associated with Charles from 1890 to 1898 in Lincoln, managing

the business properties Charles had acquired there. Born in Ripon, Wisconsin, son of Hector Dawes, he had worked with the Spink Company private bank in Redfield, South Dakota, from 1884 to 1890. The Spink bank was quite a hifalutin' organization for the old Dakota territory, for it was housed in a brick building, and one of the town's rising lawyers, Thomas J. Walsh, new senior United States Senator from Montana, used to spend many of the long, cold winter evenings sitting with the young banker before a glowing Round Oak stove, until time to go to bed back of his cold, cold office in a frame building.

Charles Dawes never has been much concerned about details. Thinking out the major outline of an idea, he would turn it over to an associate and consider it settled. Naturally, he has had to be careful in picking men to work with him, and he picked wisely when he told William R. Dawes to organize the bank.

"We'll have $4,000,000 capital and a million surplus, Will," Charles said, and on May 14, 1902, application was made at Springfield for a charter.

Among the incorporators were some pretty "big" men of Chicago—Charles Deering, Graeme Stewart, Max Pam, A. J. Earling, president of The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railroad; Frank O. Lowden, and Bernard A. Eckhart. Chicago gasped along with La Salle street when the

ambitious plans of the new bank were made public. Why, the First National was capitalized for only $1,000,000 more than this bank of which Charlie Dawes was to be president! A Chicago bank had never been capitalized for half that much before. La Salle street shook its collective head, but never doubted the success of the new venture.

Dawes had apparently done something impetuous, organizing a bank over night, as it seemed to those on the outside. But the Central Trust was not organized over night, nor was the idea a sudden inspiration. Since President McKinley's death, Dawes had felt, although he had not admitted it, that his chance for election had waned. Little short of a political miracle could elect him, and so, as he continued his ill-fated campaign, he planned what he would do in the event of defeat.

As a former Comptroller he could have moved to New York and become president of a big bank —rumors were afloat to the effect that he was to do that, even before he left Washington—or he could have stepped immediately into the direction of a Chicago house. But he decided there was room for a state bank and trust company in Chicago and that he would organize it. Accordingly he had laid his plans, had had private conversations with a few wealthy men, and had pretty well advanced his tentative organization when he told William to get busy.

A single long room in a building at Monroe and Dearborn streets, known as the Howland building, was rented from Hetty Green, the owner. In that room, John R. Walsh with his dream of owning a bank, a railroad and a newspaper, had organized his ill-fated financial house, The Chicago National, moving to the new banking building at 125 West Monroe street. Into the Monroe street building in 1906, when Walsh failed, Dawes followed with his rapidly growing Central Trust Company of Illinois, and there the bank remained until 1929, when it took over the home of the Continental and Commercial National, which had been merged with the Illinois Merchants. The Central Trust pays a rental of $700,000 annually for that space.

Charles Dawes went about the business of organizing his bank as he had gone about organizing Illinois and the West for William McKinley. Always a hard worker, he now put in hours of intensive effort that were equalled only in one other period of his life—that of the world war. Around him he drew workers. An industrious and loyal organization grew, loyal not so much to the individual, Charles Dawes, as to the company. Very early it became definitely known that the "Yes-Man" could not last. Merely playing up to the president's viewpoint gained nothing, least of all promotion. The result has been that men and women who have succeeded in The Central Trust

Banker Dawes, 1905.

were those who had the ability to think for themselves and work out the details of the president's ideas. Heaven help the man who went into the front office with an opinion or a proposition that he could not support with facts! The fellow who went there with alibis, or explanations of difficulties in carrying out instructions, hoed a hard row, too. Give a man full authority to do a job, then hold him responsible for it, has always been the Dawes method.

It was William R. Dawes, given instructions to organize a bank, who collected the capital, rented the office, bought the furniture, hired the staff, and started the wheels rolling. Getting banking room furniture was not an easy matter. When the suitable room was found, it was dirty, had to be renovated; partitions had to be erected. "W. R." hoped to buy second hand fittings, but they were not to be found. He went to Alexander H. Revell, Chicago furniture manufacturer and dealer.

"I've got to have furniture in that room before July 8," William Dawes explained.

"Well, I have some going through the factory for a new bank down-state," Revell said, reaching for his telephone. "I'll find out if I can divert it for you." The down-state institution would not be ready to open on the date its sponsors anticipated; that furniture could be had. When it had been installed in the Howland building, "W. R." told

Charles how he had acquired it, and how he had been compelled to pay more for it than he had expected to pay.

"Will," Charles grinned, "when a thing's done, it's done right."

One might question the soundness of that epigram, but it is a good business philosophy, nevertheless.

The bank was open and ready for business sixty days after Dawes had given the word to go ahead. Adolph Uhrlaub, who, as assistant cashier of the Chicago National, had helped Charles market the securities of his Evanston Gas company, was made a vice president. W. Irving Osborne, now president of the Cornell Wood Products company, of Cornell, Wisconsin, was senior vice president. William R. Dawes was cashier, in which capacity he continued until 1919, when he was made a vice president. The first man hired was Barney Demoling, who served as a uniformed special policeman on the floor. Business did not move so fast for the young bank at first, and Barney was worried. He went into the cashier's office one rainy morning with a long face.

"Mr. Dawes," said Barney, "there's not enough mud on the floor."

"Don't worry, Barney," William told him, "we're going along all right." And Barney lived to see much mud on the floor on rainy days.

Two years after incorporation the capitalization was reduced to $2,000,000 because the deposits had not accrued in a ratio to warrant the $4,000,000 figure—the generally accepted idea was that a bank should have ten dollars in deposits to one dollar of capitalization—and then came a stroke of good business which gave the bank its first big savings deposits. At that time it was popular for department stores to accept savings accounts of their customers, but the business was growing so rapidly that the store owners came to the conclusion that banking and selling did not mix. Accordingly the deposits of the Siegel-Cooper and Rothschild's stores were entered on the Central Trust books.

Then began a series of mergers and absorptions. The Royal Trust Company was taken over with $5,000,000 in deposits. The Monroe National, with $2,000,000, and the Metropolitan Trust, with $4,000,000 were next. In 1911 the Western Trust, with deposits of a little less than $10,000,000, was merged with the Central Trust, the Dawes bank then having deposits of approximately $35,000,000, the capital being $3,500,000, the surplus and undivided profits aggregating $1,700,000. Then came the Prairie State, adding $8,000,000 in deposits, the Colonial Trust and Savings, $4,000,000; the Great Lakes Trust Company, $6,000,000 and, in 1929, a merger with the Bank of America, with approximately $29,000,000 in deposits. The de-

posits in the spring of 1930 totaled $138,660,123. The capital and surplus totaled $20,000,000 with $3,513,858 in undivided profits.

With each addition came new men to The Central Trust, but only three of the original organization of 1902 remain—Charles and William Dawes and Howard S. Camp, now one of the vice presidents, who was a boy in knickerbockers on the opening day, sitting outside the president's office with an ear cocked for a call from within. With the Monroe National came Thomas C. Neal, now vice president in the Commercial department. From the Metropolitan came J. E. Lindquist, also a vice president, and from the Bank of America came Moses E. Greenebaum, chairman of the board of that bank, vice chairman of The Central Trust now.

From the Western Trust came William C. Cook, now a vice president, while the Western's president, Joseph Edward Otis, became senior vice president of the Central Trust. William R. Dawes and Joseph E. Otis—called "Ed" by the bank organization—are regarded as the two men, outside of the founder, most responsible for the bank's success.

"Just move your desk into my office, Ed," Charles directed, when Otis came into the merged institution, and their desks have been within conversational range ever since. Of course, as some

friends of "The General" may point out, one could be quite a distance from "C. G.'s" desk and still be within hearing, but in this case their desks have seldom been more than twenty feet apart.

Otis was advanced to presidency of the bank when Dawes was made chairman of the board in 1922, and in 1929, when the founder accepted President Hoover's appointment as Ambassador to Great Britain, Otis was elected chairman, Dawes being given by the directors the title of Honorary Chairman of the Board. William R. Dawes is now the senior vice president. William G. Edens came from Washington four years after the bank started. He is vice president in charge of new business accounts.

In the latest merger The Federal Securities Company was incorporated as a part of the general banking institution under the name of the Central Illinois Company. The bank thereby acquired a new personality, in Philip R. Clarke, who is much like the founder in his habit of thinking several jumps ahead, and in his organization ability. Clarke, the man who headed the five Liberty Loan drives in Chicago, had organized The Federal Securities Company and it had become highly successful. When his organization was taken over he was made president of The Central Trust and of the Central Illinois Company.

As the bank grew in stature, so did its founder.

His direct mode of expression, the forcefulness of his ideas, his willingness to get up on his feet and speak his mind, coupled with his reputation as Comptroller, were making him pretty well known throughout the Middle West. Various organizations began calling on him to be the principal speaker at banquets. He seldom gave them pleasant little thoughts in sugar coatings, and often made his hearers hopping mad—but he told them what he was thinking.

He accepted an invitation from the Nebraska State Bankers' association to speak on the night of October 4, 1905, and figuratively walked into a hornets' nest, coming out with the nest.

C. M. Brown, president of the First National Bank of Cambridge, Nebraska, spoke before Dawes was called by the chairman. Theodore Roosevelt's imprecations against "Malefactors of Great Wealth" had struck a responsive chord in many a Western heart, and Brown, taking the President's theme as his own, rode rough shod over captains of industry and their many sins. Reform, he said, was necessary, and he added earnestly that he was "weary unto death of apologizing for the crimes of wealth."

Dawes strode to the center of the platform when he was introduced and glared at his audience, the leading bankers and business men of the state.

"To hell with platitudes!" he barked. His audi-

ence of solid Nebraska bankers gasped. Whether the speaker was bursting with annoyance at the many platitudes accredited to President Roosevelt, for whom Dawes had little regard, or the preceding speaker's, was not clear. Dawes soon removed doubt on that score.

"I felt humiliated and ashamed," he said, "at the remarks of the speaker who has just finished. The gentleman saw nothing but wrong in everything. He seemed to be searching for the seamy side and to be overlooking the virtues in the question. This is no time for such utterances."

He paused, formulating his next outburst. Distinctly to his ears came the sound of hisses. Taking a fresh hitch in his vocabulary he amplified his opening paragraph.

"I have no sympathy," he roared, "for the man who has been stuck in Amalgamated. The first lesson in the business of stock buying is to know exactly how much each share is worth. Stop these indefinite accusations. Do not try to fight Rockefeller, the Steel Trust, and half a dozen other organizations at once. Find one that is doing wrong and punish it. The lamentable fact is that you people who howl continually have no constructive theories. We have too many iconoclasts and too few effective builders. It is the man who works for the right and not the man who talks against the wrong, who is the real reformer.

"This is the day of critics. Waves of investigation, such as are now sweeping over the land, come in periods of prosperity, for when we get our nose off the grindstone after a period of depression, our first thought is to poke that nose into somebody else's business. Providence has fixed this rule in society for the purpose of correcting the excesses and evils to which certain portions of it are addicted, and let alone too long.

"Let us have a sane consideration of the trust and corporation questions. There are good corporations and bad corporations. It is the duty of the citizens of the country to study the original contracts upon which corporations are based. Were this done there would be less stock bought and fewer people defrauded. Politicians and office seekers should not be permitted to look into those questions. Sane business men must take them up. It was not rant and hurrah that got good freight rates for Lincoln; it was a hard fight put up by business men.

"Prepare yourselves for this settlement of industrial questions in a logical manner. Do not denounce everything in general, but study some particular evil and then fight hard. Know your subject before you begin. You need freight rate revision in Nebraska. Freight is shipped through the state at a low rate and into the state at a high rate. The way to remedy the evil is not by ranting and scat-

tering your shot, but by a determined fight after you have mapped out your campaign. You bankers and business men are the people to settle such things; not demagogs and politicians running for office.

"I think the worst thing the people can do is to create sentiment over the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Suppose you do put the packers in jail, what will happen? They will merely sell out; and then comes the small packer again and a repetition of your own disastrous local experience. Here is the proposition: You people in the West are demanding higher prices for your cattle. In the East they are clamoring for lower prices on beef. Both jump up and howl that the packers are the cause of the low prices here and the high prices there. None of you try to investigate and find out what is the cause of these things.

"The yellow journals are denouncing the Garfield report of the investigation of the Beef Trust. I am here to say that there is no keener competition anywhere than there is between the packers, and I know that the profits are the lowest possible.

"Discriminate between the honest corporation and the dishonest corporation. Publicity is the best thing for their regulation. Why do you buy stock in a company which never publishes a balance sheet? Get the business men to study these questions and do not be stampeded.

"A corporation is a device for the distribution of risk, profits, ownership, and management of a business between individuals."

He finished. His audience, which had been shocked and angered, and which had hissed him at the start, stood and cheered.

On May 8, 1906, he delivered another broadside on his favorite topic—which may almost be called his lifetime motto—that of common sense in public affairs. Again his objective was criticism of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, which the national Administration expected would unscramble big business and which succeeded in paralyzing big industry by its uncertainties, and preventing operation of business on a large scale for nearly a generation.

"There is a crying need to-day," he said before the Bankers' Club of Cincinnati, "of new legislation in connection with corporations. Our papers are filled with appeals to prejudice instead of appeals to reason and the public mind is unnaturally excited. We hear it said that there are laws, but that these laws are not enforced. What is needed is laws up to date. Until such laws are passed there can be no improvement in conditions.

"The Sherman Anti-Trust Law is a dead letter. The business community is uncertain as to what is criminal, and the law encourages the unscrupulous man and discourages the scrupulous. The law

should be modified to make definite what is criminal and what is not.

"This is a day of the trade agreement and we need to get over the spirit of demagogery that is rampant, and which is filling the public mind. The province of government is to get facts before the public and to prevent fraud. The government has no right to interfere with the capitalization of corporations, nor to limit the amount they can make on an investment.

"A trade agreement may or may not be in restraint of trade. I hold that there are some which are beneficial to the public and the present law is weak in that it lacks the specific definition of what is legal and which is a criminal agreement.

"Thus in the carrying on of business, the business man is prevented from entering into agreements with competitors which are essential.

"The moment this government interferes with profits it causes the corporations to go to sleep. Capitalization has nothing to do with profits. Watering of stock is not fraudulent nor does the watering of stock necessarily mean that the company is doing a profitable business. Standard Oil stock is not watered, yet it is the highest priced stock on the market."

On October 25, 1906, he again assailed the Sherman law, in a speech before the National Association of Life Underwriters at St. Louis.

"The Sherman Anti-Trust law," he said, "makes agreements inherently innocent as criminal as those inherently guilty. That is the reason the law has been and always will be a failure. For sixteen years it has been practically a dead letter."

He said that the law was so faulty that it encouraged the incorporation into larger concerns of any number of competing concerns (less than the whole number, however), and in this manner resulted in a trade agreement which should be prohibited.

The law should be amended, he said, and listed the following objections to it:

"1. As its principal section makes criminal, without further definition, an agreement in restraint of trade, it leaves to judicial determination the definition of the crime, and it has not yet been defined, but will only be defined as each case arises. The business community is therefore left in doubt as to what may constitute a crime under the law.

"2. It makes no distinction between those agreements in restraint of trade which are beneficial to the public and those which are detrimental. An agreement among competitors, for instance, to sell only pure, as distinguished from adulterated, goods, is presumably as criminal under its provisions as one designed solely to extort unreasonable prices.

"3. Being indefinite in its definition of the

crime, and introducing into business an element of doubt and uncertainty as to trade agreements, it operates to the disadvantage of the scrupulous business man and in favor of the unscrupulous business man."

He also pointed out that all trade agreements, beneficial as well as detrimental to the public, may alike be termed criminal. The formation of good trade agreements is discouraged because scrupulous men will take no risks with the law, while formation of evil ones is encouraged because to unscrupulous men the risk of prosecution is less, "since to include under any law good and bad acts as equally criminal inevitably discourages its enforcement.

"The enforcement of this law, giving necessarily through its general terms, such wide latitude and discretion to executive officers in their right to proceed against the corporations and individuals, is bound to create the appearance at least of favoritism in its application, and to result in lack of uniformity in the treatment of cases arising under it."

Although Dawes believed his political career was ended, and paid little attention to politics, the public life of his antithesis, William E. Lorimer, continued to blossom, despite occasional setbacks. Lorimer was defeated in his campaign of 1901 for reëlection to congress but, after bringing about a redistricting of the state, was returned in 1903. In

the following year he brought out Frank O. Lowden as a candidate for Governor, and Dawes evinced a slight interest in local politics, but Lorimer ran into a deadlock in the state convention which was broken only when Governor Richard C. Yates and Charles S. Deneen combined forces to nominate Deneen.

Undaunted, the Blond Boss cast his eyes higher. Albert J. Hopkins, whom Lorimer had helped elect Senator, was a candidate for reëlection in 1909, and the Republicans of the state, in the primary, had endorsed him. But the strings were pulled in the legislature at Springfield to such effect that Lorimer instead of Hopkins was chosen. It was indeed a political coup. The state was startled; so was the nation. For five months the legislature was deadlocked, but when the smoke finally cleared away, it was found that fifty-three Democrats had voted to make a Senator of Lorimer, a Republican.

In June, 1909, after resigning his seat in the House of Representatives, he was accepted by the Senators without protest.

A year later, after journalistic proddings into what appeared to be irregularities, Charles A. White, a member of the state assembly, stated that he had received a bribe for his vote which had been used to break the deadlock, and that a "jackpot corruption fund" had been employed during the

session for the purpose of influencing legislation.

On the basis of that "confession," charges were made against Lorimer in the United States Senate to the effect that he had obtained his seat by fraud and bribery. After a tearful plea by Lorimer, the Senate, despite savage newspaper prosecution of the case, voted forty-six to forty against a resolution to expel him.

A few months later the Hamilton Club, composed of militant Chicago Republicans, of whom Lorimer was a respected and influential member, sent a delegation to Freeport, Illinois, to welcome Former President Roosevelt to the state and to invite him to a banquet in Chicago that was being arranged in his honor. Although his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft, had succeeded him in the White House, Roosevelt still regarded himself as a divine right ruler of the party.

Roosevelt bared his teeth and snarled that he would not accept the invitation if Lorimer were to be there. The club withdrew a member's invitation to Lorimer, who immediately resigned from the club. For ten years the Hamilton members were divided on the issue of whether they should have thus offended one of their own, or withdrawn the invitation extended to Roosevelt, and forgotten the banquet.

The journalistic and political enemies of the boss were not satisfied with his whitewashing by the

Senate. New charges of corruption followed a second investigation, and on July 13, 1912, by a vote of fifty-five to twenty-eight, the seat of junior Senator from Illinois was declared vacant.

Lorimer protested that he was a victim of persecution by his enemies, but he was out of public life. And then, like many another misguided politician, Lorimer entered actively into the business of banking. In a way he had been a banker for two years, having given his name in May, 1910, to the organization, with Charles B. Munday and other friends of the La Salle Street National Bank.

The institution operated with indifferent success until October, 1912, when Lorimer and Munday decided to convert it into the La Salle Street Trust and Savings Bank, dispensing with a federal charter and operating under state laws. One of the rulings of the Illinois state bank examiner's office was that a state bank had to have capital and surplus in cash to show to the examiner.

On October 21, 1912, Lorimer walked into the office of the president of The Central Trust Company. Dawes was warily and coldly courteous to his caller, although a bit surprised. Lorimer, as was his manner, commented on the weather and a few other vague topics, and then got down to business. The national bank examiner, he explained, had approved the conversion of the La Salle Street National into a state bank, and by that ap-

proval had, in effect, certified that the National was in all ways solvent, that its assets were in good condition, and that its capital and surplus were paid in. Lorimer then stated that he had to have $1,250,000 in cash to show to the Illinois bank examiner before a state charter could be issued.

"We haven't got the cash," Lorimer said, "for it would be inconvenient to liquidate the securities which represent that much capital and surplus. You understand that, of course?"

Dawes did. Any banker would understand that converting stocks and bonds into cash just to comply with a formality of the examiner's office might be difficult and expensive.

"Will you honor our cashier's check for $1,250,000 so that I can show the money to the examiner?" Lorimer asked. "The cash will be returned immediately after the examiner has counted it, and I will take up the check."

"Certainly," Dawes agreed, and called for William R. Dawes, the cashier of The Central Trust.

"How much will that cost us?" Lorimer asked.

"Nothing," Dawes snapped in reply, and turned to other business as William R. Dawes arrived to comply with the president's request.

Lorimer and William R. Dawes stood in the cashier's office as a bank examiner counted the $1,250,000 that had been obtained. The money was returned to William R. Dawes, and Lorimer

regained possession of his check. It was a formality that had been enacted in exactly the same manner a hundred times before in various parts of the state. One prominent Chicago bank got its cash to show the examiner by discounting notes—which were restored to the signers after the ceremony.

Dawes forgot about the transaction until June, 1914, when the La Salle Street Trust and Savings failed. Lorimer was indicted for criminal conspiracy to wreck the bank, and was acquitted. Whereupon attorneys for The Chicago Title and Trust Company, receiver for the defunct institution, sued The Central Trust to recover $1,250,000, contending that the amount provided by the Dawes bank which Lorimer allowed the state examiner to count, was a trust fund belonging to the creditors of the failed bank. The story is a long one, and the suit dragged through low and high courts for ten years before it was finally settled, The Central Trust paying the receiver about $73,000, as the difference between La Salle Street Trust and Savings assets that could be proved, and those which could not be traced.

The ultimate settlement of the case and payment of the money by The Central Trust in 1924 gave political opponents of Charles Dawes, then candidate for Vice President, some ammunition to use against him. They intimated—although their broadsides were carefully worded—that Dawes

had entered into a conspiracy with Lorimer in the affair. John Barton Payne, a prominent Democrat who had served in President Wilson's cabinet as Secretary of the Interior and as Chairman of the Shipping Board during the war, had been attorney for The Central Trust in the long drawn-out financial litigation. He promptly issued a statement that silenced the Democrats. The La Follette-Wheeler progressive campaigners tried to puff it into an issue of national importance, but failed.

A part of Mr. Payne's statement issued in 1924 follows:

"There was no interruption in the business of the La Salle Street Bank; the stockholders of the National Bank by proper resolutions became the stockholders of the State Bank; the assets theretofore owned by the National became the assets of the State Bank which continued to do business at the same office.

"Every step in the transaction was well known to and approved by the auditor, and the transfer was advertised in advance in the Chicago press. There was no deception, and no concealment; the transaction was not done in a corner.

"The La Salle Street Trust and Savings Bank, the State Institution, was under the supervision of the auditor from this date, October 21, 1912, and was examined by him in December, 1912, and several times thereafter; and continued to do business

until June 11, 1914—more than eighteen months after its transfer from a National Bank.

"General Dawes had been Comptroller of the Currency, and knew that the transfer from a National Bank to a State Bank could not be made unless the National Bank was found by the Comptroller of the Currency to be a solvent institution. It was explained to him that this finding had been made, and besides that, the transfer had been fully explained to the state auditor, and by him approved. Both statements were true. It is plain, therefore, that General Dawes not only acted in entire good faith, but was actuated wholly by unselfish generosity.

"After the failure of the State Bank in June, 1914, counsel for the receiver sued The Central Trust Company, claiming that the $1,250,000 provided by The Central Trust Company was a trust fund belonging to the creditors of the failed bank. The Supreme Court of the State refused to sustain this theory, but held that The Central Trust Company had in effect represented that the Lorimer State Bank had actually that amount of cash as its capital and surplus, and held The Central Trust Company liable for the difference between the net value of the Lorimer bank's assets at the time of the transfer, and the $1,250,000 capital and surplus, this difference without interest amounting to about $100,000.

"What was done by The Central Trust Company and General Dawes in providing the cash, and by the auditor in counting it (knowing it had been provided for that purpose) had been the practice in Illinois for generations. It was shown on the trial without contradiction that the leading banks of the state had done hundreds of times precisely what General Dawes and The Central Trust Company did. The good faith of the transaction was definitely recognized by the courts. The Appellate Court of Illinois in deciding the case said:

" 'We think The Central Trust Company and Dawes acted innocently in the matter, and were doing a mere act of courtesy for Lorimer and his bank. There is no contention that The Central Trust Company or Dawes received any remuneration for what was done. The matter of organizing the Trust and Savings Bank and the turning over of the assets of the National Bank to it was all fully explained to the officials of the State Banking Department, and everyone connected with the matter seems to have acted in entire good faith. They all thought that what they were doing was a substantial compliance with the law of this State.'

"No possible basis exists for criticism of General Dawes. His act was a mere courtesy extended to a neighbor without charge or hope of reward."

"Why did you let Lorimer have the cash for that purpose in 1912?" Dawes was asked by a

member of his campaign party in 1924. "It seems to me that you owed Lorimer no favors."

"Oh," Dawes replied with a dismissing wave of his hand, "he had mighty few friends. I didn't suppose anybody else would do it for him—and I had every reason in the world to believe that he was acting in good faith. The poor fellow was up against it and was trying to come back."

The Central Trust has risen to third place among Chicago's banks, and, of course, management has been largely responsible for the fact, but the magnetism of Charles Dawes, his dynamic action, and surprising utterances, his sharp decisions, his public life outside of the counting rooms, have added a tradition to the bank that comes to most institutions only after a century of existence. On the surface he has appeared radical as a banker. Actually he has been ultra-conservative in finance. For instance:

Early in the bank's history William R. Dawes wanted to take up some Western cattle loans, but Charles was vigorously opposed to touching a single dollar's worth of them, for he had seen many Western banks go under when he was Comptroller, because of the vague character of so much of that sort of paper. William, insisting he was right, went to Denver to look into the method of financing the cattle men, and found that the system of issuing mortgages, with live, growing animals as

security, had changed considerably. He visited ranch after ranch, looked into the assets of the borrowers, studied their herds, and talked to the men concerned.

Returning to Chicago he sailed into Charles at a meeting of the directors, with a request that The Central Trust take some of this form of securities. Charles still was adamant, but William had the support of Earling, who, as head of a railroad serving the ranch country, knew the cashier was right. With this acquisition to his position William won his point—and an initial sum of $750,000 to take over cattle loans. The bank never lost a cent on such paper.

At the time of the Anglo-French loan proposal in the United States in 1916, American bankers were very cautious. They felt that they did not dare subscribe openly for fear of losing the deposits of those sympathizing with the cause of the Central powers. While most of the bankers wanted to take the bonds, they developed a plan of having them bought publicly by bond houses, after which the banks might privately take them on.

A meeting of Chicago bankers was held to discuss the proposition. The argument went on for an hour or so, when Charles Dawes suddenly rose to his feet. His face was white.

"I have just come to my senses," he said. "We've been asking a messenger boy to do what we should

do ourselves. The Central Trust will announce in to-morrow's newspapers a substantial subscription to the Anglo-French loan."

One director of The Central Trust was so enthusiastic over the action that he borrowed $750,000 and deposited it to cover any losses in deposits that might result—but there were no losses. Deposits went up instead of down, and among those of German birth or parentage who were large depositors, not one withdrew a cent. Numerous letters of criticism were received, most of them anonymous. The most bitter of these was traced by a handwriting expert and found to have come from a man who had one dollar deposited in the savings department.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Following the death of Rufus Fearing Dawes on September 5, 1912, both Mr. and Mrs. Dawes virtually retired from social life. Charles Dawes threw himself more forcefully into his work by day, and spent long evenings in his library, reading, reading, reading—often until 2 a.m. Politics interested him only abstractly. There were rumors in 1909 and 1910 that he would accept appointment to the Cabinet of President William Howard Taft, but Dawes was not interested.

With the assassination at Sarajevo and Europe's bursting into the holocaust of war, he became a close student of tactics, concerning himself some what with the military activities, but more with the economic background of a world in conflict. Woodrow Wilson was elected President in 1912 when the Roosevelt "Bull Moose" bolt divided the Republican front, Dawes remaining "regular" with Taft, but taking no active part in the campaign. Again in 1916 he watched the national campaign from the sidelines, intensely interested in the Democratic slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War," for, although he wanted no world war, he felt that it would be impossible for the United States to remain out of it.

Some historians say that Wilson was reëlected in 1916 on that slogan, but those who know their politics of that period believe a more tangible thing than an emotional appeal was responsible—that Wilson was reëlected because Charles Evans Hughes, the Republican candidate, snubbed Senator Hiram Johnson, which was tantamount to snubbing his whole state of California.

At any rate, Wilson had a plurality of twenty-three electoral votes, including California's thirteen, the national total being 277 for Wilson to 254 for Hughes. Had California given its plurality to Hughes instead of to Wilson—who won the state by only 3,773 votes in a total of 999,781—the electoral tally would have been 267 for Hughes to 264 for Wilson. The majority required for election was 266.

Even as the campaign drew to a close in 1916, Republicans and Democrats alike who could see beyond their own freckles, knew that the entrance of the United States into the war was only a matter of weeks. As the fateful April of 1917 approached, Dawes was restless. War was coming to the United States—and he would be 52 years old!

Never entirely out of communication with John Pershing since their meetings at Don Cameron's lunch room, Dawes resumed closer diplomatic relations with the man he felt pretty certain would

have some sort of high command in the American armies when such were recruited for the trenches. Unlike a good many major generals over whose heads Pershing was advanced when the event did come, Dawes was not surprised as his old friend came out of command of the Mexican punitive expedition after the bandit, Francisco Villa, and into command of the American Expeditionary Forces. He knew Pershing's ability. He started burning the wires. Pershing advised, because of lack of military experience and because of his friend's age, that Dawes utilize his legal experience and take an appointment to the Judge Advocate General's department. That would not do at all, and Dawes said so. He knew he could get himself into a colonel's or perhaps a general's uniform and anchor his spurred boots upon a desk in Washington, but there would be no action in that, and he knew he could be more valuable in the field. Why, he would go mad enduring a desk job in the United States while the army and navy and marines were going to France! Even the women were going—nurses, stenographers, yeomanettes. They were all youngsters, yes, but so was he. What's 52 years? Nothing, if a man knows he can serve.

A telegram came from a solid, stolid, shy young man who had been demonstrating uncanny ability at organization and administration as emergency aid to the American Ambassador in London in get-

ting frenzied Americans home in 1914, then as rationer of Belgium and the French refugees, and now as Food Administrator in Washington. Dawes dodged the telegram as well as he could, but when Herbert Clark Hoover set out to get a man he believed able to do a hard job and do it well, he could be just as stubborn as Dawes ever was. The correspondence between them continued. The Dawes restlessness likewise continued to ferment.

Pershing was adamant. Dawes fumed. As he sat at his desk in the bank one afternoon his old friend, Samuel M. Felton, president of the Chicago, Great Western Railroad, and then Director General of Military Railways, called on him. Felton was a director of The Central Trust Company. He had something on his mind, important perhaps to him and the railways, but it did not interest Dawes particularly. He had a telegram on his desk from Hoover. Another from Pershing.

"Look here, Sam," Dawes blurted, "what's the reason you can't get me into your railroad engineers? I'm an engineer, you know."

"You're a better banker and lawyer, Charlie," Felton replied. "You stay here in the bank. You're needed right here."

"I'm not needed here! Ed Otis and the rest of them are carrying on the affairs of this bank in fine shape. They don't need me at all. I can do something in the army."

"This is a young man's war," Felton replied, unruffled. "You're past fifty, Charlie, and—"

Immediately the air was sulphuric blue. What Dawes said then, and how he said it, are immaterial. The result of his outburst was that Felton got into communication with General Pershing, and Dawes took the next train to Washington.

Pershing was then making ready to sail for France, organizing his headquarters staff. Dawes had luncheon with him at the Metropolitan Club, and later went to the General's headquarters where the commission debate was settled. Pershing even dispatched one of his aides, Captain Margotte, with Dawes to the army surgeon's office for a physical examination.

In the course of his oral test Dawes was asked, "What would you do if told to survey a field?"

"I would send for a surveyor," was the instantaneous reply.

He was passed.

The next day, while waiting for the slow wheels of the army system to grind out his application, Dawes had luncheon with Hoover and Frederick Delano, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

"I can find a hundred men who will make better lieutenant colonels of engineers, and I want you right here," Hoover said, as Dawes relates in his war diary, *A Journal of the Great War*. Hoover

explained that he wished him to become head of the organization he had in mind to control the price of grain in the United States. Dawes simply shook his head.

"No, Mr. Hoover," he replied. "I don't want to consider it."

That seemed to settle that. Dawes went to Atlanta, Georgia, and reported to Colonel John S. Sewell, commander of the 17th railway engineers, United States National Army, on May 27, 1917. A few days later came his commission, and Dawes was an officer, first a major, but very shortly afterward a lieutenant colonel.

"After reaching Atlanta and receiving my commission," Dawes writes in his journal, "Hoover gave me a great scare by wiring, 'Would you bear me implacable resentment if I asked the President to assign you to me?'

"I answered: 'Under no circumstances do such a thing. It would be unfair and cruel, and I know you would not consider it.' Heard no further from the matter to my great relief."

So ended another episode, comparatively minor, which might have had untold effect upon the future of Charles G. Dawes. Few men who served during the war period with Hoover, no matter how great and important the service, grew politically from the stature they held when joining him in his work, although all have been deeply loyal to him.

Embarking on the Carmania on July 28, Dawes landed at Liverpool on August 11, and, after a week in England, arrived at Le Havre with his regiment. But he was not to remain long with the engineers. The 17th regiment was sent at once to the St. Nazaire base, where it remained for "the duration," doing magnificent work under Colonel Sewell; but Dawes was there only long enough to learn how supplies were docked and warehoused. It was a disappointment to the whole outfit to be assigned there. The men had expected to go immediately to the front on railroad construction duty, but the reconstruction of the base was a bigger job.

"It is extremely important," Dawes wrote in his diary, "to have the naval bases operating at full efficiency. Through these funnels must be passed the military resources of our great nation. Congestion here may mean defeat further north."

On August 29 Dawes was called to Paris for a conference with Pershing, who explained that he wanted Dawes to organize and direct a board which would coördinate all purchases for the American Expeditionary Forces. This board was promptly made up of ten officers representing all the purchasing departments of the army, the Red Cross and the Young Men's Christian Association, with Dawes as chairman. He also was made general purchasing agent of the A. E. F. for all

of Europe. The magnitude of the job and the mental breadth of Pershing in visualizing the necessity for it impressed Dawes so thoroughly that he promptly forgot any desire to be with combat troops. This was real work, and work that only a civilian, such as he, could encompass. Military men were doing great things in direct action, but Pershing, as thoroughly military-minded as any one who ever looked at a map, knew that a man trained in the traditions of the army, with its leagues of "red tape," its oceans of paper work, and its deeply ingrained habit of routine and tradition, could never do what Dawes was told to do. Pershing gave him complete authority and support.

And Dawes did the job. It was his greatest life work. He demolished more military red tape and tradition than all the general staff would have dared to avoid, but he got horses and mules to the artillery, even when he had to wink at smuggling across the Spanish border, and he got tomatoes and flour and steel and hay and rails and strawberry jam—and "goldfish," and "corned willie"—to the places where those things were needed, when they were needed. When he required the eye or the ear of the Commander-in-Chief of the A. E. F., he told Francis Kilkenny to get the "C.-in-C." on the wire. He stood on no more formality with the Commander than he had back at Don

At The White House, 1930. Ambassador Dawes and President Herbert Clark Hoover.

Cameron's when asking Pershing to pass the catsup, and they were together almost as often, Pershing finding one man to whom he could trust confidences—and to whom he could unburden an overcrowded mind.

Dawes was never a soldier. The army gave up trying to militarize him. He wore his uniform and insignia with extreme pride, but he was hopeless on parade. For months he was annoyed by his leather puttees and when he finally complained to an officer of the Quartermaster corps, it was discovered that he was wearing civilian half hose garters with steel buckles under the tightly fitting leather. In the course of an inspection of the Service of Supplies Dawes stood as stiffly at attention as any general. Pershing walked slowly along the line of immobile officers and stopped for a moment to look at Dawes with disfavor in his eyes. Dawes was puzzled at his friend's attitude, and not a little worried, for Pershing had a sly sense of humor that might operate at any time. Finally the Commander turned to his Chief of Staff, General James G. Harbord, and whispered in his ear.

Harbord walked up to Dawes and buttoned the Purchasing Agent's overcoat.

"This is a hell of a thing for the Chief of Staff to have to do," Harbord growled, trying to conceal a grin, "but the General told me to do it."

Dawes heard some time later from a private soldier that somebody in England had made a kodak photograph of Pershing, showing one button of his tunic unfastened. Charles caused a search to be made that was not concluded until after the armistice, but he never found the photo.

Such things could not dampen the friendship of this hundred per cent soldier and hundred per cent civilian.

"Dear fellow and loyal friend," Dawes wrote in his diary. "I hope I do not fail him. We both have passed through the greatest grief which can come to man. As we rode up (to the Mills house where Pershing lived in Paris) there occurred an instance of telepathy which was too much for either of us. Neither of us was saying anything, but I was thinking of my lost boy and of John's loss and looking out of the window, and he was doing the same thing on the other side of the automobile. We both turned at the same time and each was in tears. All John said was, 'Even this war can't keep it out of my mind.'"

That was the John Pershing that Charles Dawes knew, idolized, and worked for like a coolie. Perhaps the American Marines and soldiers will never settle to their own satisfaction the question: "Who won the war?" and historians of the Allied nations may forever quibble about it. Whatever the ultimate answer may be, John Pershing will

stand close to the top, and within reach of his friendly hand, which could pat a man on the back so genuinely for a job well done, will be Charles Dawes.

Pershing never fooled himself. Neither did Dawes. The Commander believed that the end would come by Christmas, 1918. He missed his guess by a little more than a month. He believed that 2,000,000 American soldiers in France would turn the trick—if the Allies could hold out until they got there. The wonderful miracle of those discouraged, tired-to-death Frenchmen and Englishmen who never knew when they were licked, holding on until the fresh, eager Americans could deal the death blow, was performed as Pershing believed it would be.

Civilian France had to have coal during that winter of 1917-18 if its morale was to withstand the hammering of the Big Bertha and the air raids. Dawes got coal, although German submarines were sending allied shipping to the bottom of the Atlantic at the rate of 500,000 tons a month. Admiral Sims of the American navy, after some argument, turned over a collier; coal carriers were lifted from the Great Lakes and sent across the Atlantic to ply the English Channel. Every bottom that could wabble along was transporting American troops. The United States was one huge granary and warehouse, but material had to go second

to men. Material had to be purchased in France, in England, Switzerland, Spain, Holland, Italy—wherever it could be had. The General Staff at home was looking after domestic purchases, Dawes had to see to the European buying.

Strong, able men had to be drawn into his organization. Weak men had to be strengthened, or shelved. Stubborn men had to be cajoled, wheedled or bullied. Food for men and soldiers had to be found. Sheet tin had to be bought for manufacture of milk cans. Munitions had to be bought from French and British stores to supply rifles and field pieces served by American soldiers. Through it all Dawes worked ten, twelve, fifteen, eighteen hours a day, as every other man with a man's job was working, with a piano, his diary and a fox terrier in his hotel room for companionship. He kept his sense of humor and his health, although suffering now and then with the vicious colds that attacked the strongest.

Tired to death, he yet loved the work. With that supreme self-confidence that had always marked him, he believed that he was doing a big job and doing it better than any other man in the A. E. F. could do it. He had time to analyze the nations at war, even after Pershing had added supervision of all labor back of the lines to his tasks.

"The regular army," he entered in his diary on December 9, 1917, "is a magnificent organization.

I work with it incessantly and without friction. One of our officers has been criticizing Belgium, saying it is not playing its part. *'Belgium not playing its part!'* Belgium—twenty miles long by six miles wide—all under bombardment—holding the line as Russia did not! Belgium, ground to atoms under the heel of Germany because it did 'play its part' and fought like a tiger against overwhelming odds until a battle of the Marne could be fought, and a world saved!"

The French, understanding his un-English temperament, took him to themselves as though he had been born Gallic, yet he never learned enough of their language to talk to them, or understand their French.

When he was trying to win British favor for the idea that hastened the end of the war by at least a year, he wrote:

"I do not want to criticise English obstinacy—thank God for it! It saved the Marne—it is saving the Channel ports. It has justified and glorified itself in the blood of hundreds of thousands."

But he had to oppose traditional British obstinacy and oppose it with every wile of diplomacy within him. As the fortunes of war had carried the Allies through the winter, with Paris and Calais still holding, a unified military front had been obtained under the supreme command of Field Marshal Foch. Now Dawes had an idea, with

Spring approaching and thousands of American soldiers and Marines arriving weekly and complicating, in direct ratio to every additional man or animal or gun to feed, the intense problem of procurement and distribution of supplies. He worked it over in his mind until he had it thoroughly planned, and then submitted it to Pershing.

Even as the fighting men of Italy, France, England, the Dominions, Belgium and the United States were being directed in assault and defense from one central command, so Dawes believed must supplies be obtained and administered. Pershing read his recommendation and approved it heartily. It was not merely good military tactics, it was good common sense.

The United States was using an immense amount of tonnage, as Dawes pointed out, for the purpose of building warehouse and dockage facilities, while the French and English warehouses were growing emptier and emptier. No one man had authority to look upon the simple question of warehouse space from a comprehensive viewpoint. There must be such a man. That one man must be military, not of civilian status; he must be a Frenchman. And his authority must be final; it must not be vested in a slow moving board of men.

"If we do not have military management and military control," he wrote in his memorandum to Pershing, "we may fail, and a German army

at the ports may save us the trouble of unloading some of the engineering material from our ships, thus devoted, which should have been bringing men and food to have stopped our enemies where they are now."

In his diary a few days later he wrote:

"Our backs are against the wall. England is fighting not only for Calais, but for Paris and a free New York. The time has come to abolish Supreme War councils, Allied boards, town-meetings, and common-consent discussions, and relegate discussions and diplomacy to their proper place—substituting military consideration and action. One man must control the rear, subject to one man who controls the front—a General, and not a civilian."

The plan proceeded to develop. There would be pooling of supplies, such as aviation material, munitions, coal, horses, gasoline, oats, hay, meat, flour, shoes, sugar, wagons, tentage, demountable barracks, lumber, timber, supply depots and warehouses. Premier Clemenceau of France approved. General Payot* was directed to coördinate French

(*) Jean Marie Charles Payot, born at Vic-le-Comte, in February, 1868, served in the French 130th Infantry regiment, studied at St. Cyr and at Ecole de Guerre, and was a member of the French army general staff at the outbreak of the world war. After the armistice Marshal Foch made him director general of communications of the Army of the Rhine in the Ruhr occupation. He was decorated as an officer of the Legion of Honor in 1924, and later raised to Commander. In 1926 he was promoted from command of the 29th Infantry division, stationed at Nice, to the 13th Army corps.

supplies with American. Pershing cabled Washington for approval, and laid the plan before the British. Marshal Haig objected. Pershing went to London for further argument on the proposition that if British and American lives could be entrusted to a French control, so could British and American material. Upon Pershing's return to Paris Dawes was sent to London, taking along his aid, Francis Kilkenny and Dwight W. Morrow, of the United States Shipping Board.

An appointment was made at Number 10 Downing Street for Dawes to see Prime Minister Lloyd George on the following day, but Dawes loitered in the house until he caught Lloyd George in the hall, presented his letter of authority from Pershing, and a copy of an agreement for coördination that had been signed by Clemenceau and Pershing.

"They're against it," Lloyd George said, meaning the British War Office.

"Here is a statement of the plan which is so simple that they cannot misunderstand it, or be against it," Dawes replied.

Lloyd George said that he favored the idea and Dawes insisted that they go at once together to the British War council. A meeting was set for the next afternoon, but meanwhile Dawes sought out Lieutenant General Sir John Cowans, the British Quartermaster General, who was the principal obstacle to English approval of a unified

service of supplies. With Morrow at his right hand Dawes presented the whole plan and the urgent need for it to the Quartermaster General. Approval by the British was won in that conference without a meeting of the War Council.

Back in Paris, on Sunday, June 2, Dawes exultantly transcribed a record of the previous fortnight in his diary. He added this comment:

"We must proceed by degrees, but if this war continues a year this board or what springs directly out of it, will, next to the three military commanders, be the chief factor in Allied success. This comes not because of self-confidence (of which I have no small degree) but because we can officially clear the way for common sense—the ultimate king of all successful wars—to have its day in the rear of the armies."

Work was doubled, trebled, quadrupled. As the Allied Service of Supply grew in form, information had to be collected concerning all supplies immediately available, and their warehousing; maps and charts had to be drawn. There were plenty of men to do the detail work, but the officers representing the various services of supply, under the supervision of General Payot, had their hands full, day and night.

June came, and summer was on the way. Pershing wanted to found a great band for the National Army, drawing the best musicians from all

units. It would be the musical ambassador of the United States army in all formal parades. He asked Dawes to see to it, to find a leader, and Dawes found a leader—none less than grand old Walter Damrosch, one of the greatest musicians ever to set foot on American soil.*

But Dawes had one little uneasiness.

"They're all Generals on the unified supply board," he told Pershing. "I'm going to have a devil of a time, for I'm only a Colonel."

"You're a General," Pershing's eyes twinkled, and, as Pershing had given himself the pleasure in January of bestowing a pair of silver eagles, the insignia of a colonel that had replaced the silver oak leaves of a lieutenant colonel, he now quickly had confirmation for silver stars to re-

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(*) Walter Damrosch was born in Breslau, Germany, on January 30, 1862, son of Leopold Damrosch, famous composer and conductor. He came to the United States with his father in 1871. In 1890 he married Miss Margaret Blaine, daughter of James G. Blaine, who was then Secretary of State in President Benjamin Harrison's cabinet. When his father died of pneumonia in 1884 while planning a tour of the country with a German opera company, Damrosch carried the venture through to success. When the Metropolitan in 1894 eliminated German opera, Damrosch organized his own company which he continued for six years, returning then to the Metropolitan. Later he directed the Philharmonic Society orchestra, and the New York Symphony. He was directing an orchestra of French musicians in tours of the army camps in France when Dawes chose him to organize one big band and reform the whole American army musical system. He later founded a bandmasters' school at General Headquarters, Chaumont.

place the eagles, and he put them upon his old friend's shoulders.

At the end of June the new board was functioning, and its work was felt immediately. Dawes was delighted.

"Nothing is slower to move than an Englishman in matters involving a possible loss of authority," he confided to his diary. "But when he does move, and when he gives his word, he stands by it through thick and thin . . . . The English are coöperating like the thoroughbreds they are."

Excellent headquarters were provided for the Military Board of Allied Supply by the French Government, in a modern chateau at Coubert, with an old castle, built about 1550, a quarter of a mile distant, for the staff. To Paris came Herbert Hoover on his frequent trips in the interest of the United States food control office, and he and Dawes had lengthy conferences looking toward securing supplies for the French civilian population, as well as for the Belgian refugees, and getting supplies to the A. E. F.

"I like him very much," Dawes told his diary. "He is a wonderful executive—a man inspired only by the principles of true and unselfish devotion to duty."

The Dawes plan for coördination of the rear was the most important individual idea contributed toward the winning of the war. The German

high command, with the greatest military machine in history, knew as accurately as Foch's headquarters how men were pouring in from across the Atlantic, that men and animals and supplies and material were coming in an ever greater flood despite the vigorous prosecution of the submarine campaign. Civilian morale in France and England, instead of being broken by the Big Bertha, and the constant bombing from airplanes, and from Zeppelin dirigibles, was stronger than ever. The Americans had come; there were food and fuel and munitions for all.

As the Allied armies were strengthened in their heroic, stubborn resistance to the powerful German thrusts, and an American lance was given into their hands to strike back with, the German people were losing their grip, the Kaiser's government was in danger, and his soldiers knew not what they were eating, nor did they question any more.

An armistice was proposed and accepted. The war ended, as far as actual hostilities were concerned, on November 11, 1918.

Dawes had spent, through his office, approximately $1,024,000,000 on supplies for the A. E. F. in Europe. A business man, economist, trained in the necessity of buying carefully and well, he had been a buyer for a huge consuming army under emergency circumstances. When mules had to be bought to haul artillery he got them, paying dou-

ble and treble their market value. He had paid high prices for many things, and at the time of the armistice there were mammoth surplus stocks of goods that he had bought and that had been shipped independently of his control from the United States. The huge purchasing plan was due to the idea of preparing for a much longer war. Now criticism began to creep into the newspapers at home, and as Dawes read the rumblings of these critics who had not crossed the ocean, he grew hot under the collar, but by no means as hot as he would get a few months later.

"The United States," he wrote in his diary, "after all, turned the tide of war. The support given our army by our government was all possible for it to give. Again it will be developed to the credit of our governmental authority that, not being able to ship supplies as rapidly as needed, it gave the Allies that immediate financial and moral support that enabled them to continue until we could furnish the men. I cannot approve of the *ex post facto* criticism of the Administration. Granted that it erred in not forcing preparation long before the war, yet when the war came it did everything it could to forward it."

Supplies on hand had to be liquidated, and since Dawes had done so well in buying supplies, he was now given the task of disposing of as much as possible. That prevented his return to Evans-

ton until late in August, 1919. Meanwhile decorations came from the Allied governments, including that of Commander of the French Legion of Honor. At a dinner given on February 15, at Paris, by Hoover, French Minister of Commerce Clementel formally presented the decoration, and then, as Dawes told his diary, "inexpressibly horrified me by kissing me on both cheeks before a large audience of which the American section must have been tremendously amused. Hoover made a telling address. This man has earned the highest possible place in history. As we sat at the table together I told him our old friends in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Marietta, Ohio, who knew us better, would never have made the mistake either of making us so prominent or of kissing us."

Dawes appreciated the decorations—but he never remembers to wear them on his evening clothes. In addition to the Legion of Honor, the French gave him the Croix de Guerre, with Palm; the British made him a member of the Order of the Bath; Italy conferred the decoration of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus; Belgium added the Cross of the Order of Leopold, and the United States gave him the Distinguished Service Medal.

CHAPTER NINE

It was a different Dawes who returned to Chicago on August 13, 1919. He was like the thousands of soldiers who came back; ten years older, instead of two years. There was still the love of a joke in him, the love of a good story and, more than ever before, the desire for the companionship of men with whom he could sit and talk—just talk. The war was over. He was through with war, everything connected with war. Perhaps the most impressive thing that the war did to him—as seen by his old friends—was to weaken the safety valve controlling his volatile nature. His patience with slow moving, dull witted or wilfully ignorant persons was short.

"Don't call me 'General'!" he snapped at a newspaper reporter who called on him at his office on the day of his return. "The war's over. I'm not in the army any more. I'm not a general."

He was "Mistered" for a while, but the use of his military title persisted. He gave up protesting, accepted the inevitable. He was "The General" thereafter.

Another Presidential campaign was approaching. After every great war of the past in which the United States had engaged successfully, mili-

tary heroes automatically had become political heroes. The organizations of veterans of the world war were being formed and the votes of the 4,000,000 men who had been in the various branches of national service were not to be sneezed at. Politicians of both parties felt their way carefully, for, if the people desired a military hero to succeed Wilson, who was finishing his second term and was decidedly at odds with Congress (which was then Republican in majority), they wished to make no mistakes. The Republicans were particularly anxious because they felt in their bones that their restoration to national power was certain.

Who was the greatest American hero of the war? Pershing, of course. But Pershing quickly let the politicians know that he was not a candidate. Who was next? Dawes. Dawes was a Rooseveltian type, had made a name for himself in France, needed little publicity to build him to national stature. He would have Pershing's endorsement. But to reporters who met the Leviathan when it docked at New York, Dawes answered that question bluntly.

"I am not in politics," he assured them.

The next question was much more delicate. Frank Orren Lowden was a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination. So was Senator Hiram Johnson of California, and Major General Leonard Wood, a political opponent of Pershing,

for Pershing was popularly credited with having prevented Wood's going to France in command of the division he had trained. The Democratic politicians had really been responsible. Wood had been a close friend of Roosevelt, who had been denied his plea for a return to active military service. The struggle between Lowden, just concluding a successful term as governor of Illinois, Wood, who had a large Rooseveltian following, and Johnson, who also would attract Bull Moose votes, was beginning.

In what direction would the two principal military heroes of the war cast their endorsement? The reporters were particularly anxious about that.

"It is rumored," Dawes was told, "that if you are not to be a candidate yourself you will support Governor Lowden; that in such a case Lowden would also have Pershing's support."

"I am not even talking politics," Dawes replied to that. "I am still in the army and shall be for two or three weeks longer."

There was no doubt in the Dawes mind, however, as to whom he would support for the Republican Presidential nomination. Before sailing for France in 1917 he had congratulated his old friend, Lowden, on an excellent administration of the state's affairs at Springfield.

"Frank," he said, "if you are ever a candidate for President I am going to be for you."

Arriving in Chicago, he again refused to talk politics, parrying questions as to his political leanings with remarks of how good Chicago and Evanston looked to him after two years abroad. Later he issued a definite statement of opinion about the vicious debate in the Senate over Wilson's desire for ratification of the Versailles treaty and American entrance into the League of Nations.

"I have faith," he wrote in a newspaper article that appeared under his signature, "that the honest judgment of the American people will be forced to the same conclusion as was that of the representatives of all governments signing the treaty, to wit: that since it was impossible for any of them to have in the treaty all they would desire, they would accept the best treaty possible to be made.

"I therefore look forward to an ultimate rally of American public sentiment behind it, faulty as it may seem to us in certain details, as embodying the hope of a better future for ourselves and the world.

"As a people who would not evade or shirk the responsibilities which our own sovereign decision to enter the war has brought upon us, we should lift our eyes and efforts from the smaller aspects of our situation and ratify in its entirety this great treaty of peace in which thirty nations have at last composed their differences after the most terrible war of all time."

The treaty of peace, in its entirety, included the Covenant of the League of Nations . . . . Such an uproar was raised against American participation in the League by Wilson's opponents—both Republican and Democratic—that the League Covenant was never endorsed by the Senate, and it became a national issue which is used forcefully to this day by politicians who, for obvious reasons, thus create a smoke screen behind which they can avoid discussing pertinent local issues.

Following his discharge from the army, Dawes refused an invitation from President Wilson to attend the Industrial Conference in Washington, and spent the winter in quiet and rest. With the coming of spring, in 1920, however, the Presidential pre-convention campaign grew hot, and in May, in a ten minute speech before the Young Men's Lowden club in the Congress Hotel, Chicago, Dawes definitely aligned himself back of Lowden. But Lowden was never to be nominated.

The 1920 Republican National Convention, held in an unmercifully hot June week in the Coliseum at Chicago, was as thoroughly politician-controlled as ever any convention was controlled. Senator Boise Penrose lay ill in his home at Philadelphia within reach of a telephone and did most of the bossing. Leonard Wood was not wanted by the Senate oligarchy, of which Penrose was high priest. Neither was Lowden wanted. Certainly

Johnson was not acceptable to the Republican regulars. The Wood campaigners were permitted to develop their full strength as the convention progressed, but they were unable to muster a majority. Then the Johnson party strove for supremacy, with the oligarchy in the background waiting quietly for the proper time to strike at him. Lowden was not so easily disposed of. Doggedly his delegates hung on, confidently expecting to draw enough strength from the Wood and Johnson camps to nominate the Illinoisan. They probably would have succeeded in beating the elder statesmen and nominating Lowden had not Penrose been "shocked."

Early in the primary campaign, Louis L. Emmerson, Illinois Secretary of State and Lowden's pre-convention campaign manager—he was elected Governor of Illinois in 1928—had given $2,500 to two men for use in the Missouri campaign for National Convention delegates. They said later that they had put the money into their own pockets. That "scandal"—called bribery to obtain convention delegates—was dragged out by the elder statesmen, and, at a crucial moment in the balloting for the Presidential candidate, the Convention was flooded with the damaging "news." Miraculously, hundreds of copies of a Chicago newspaper with headlines four inches deep screaming "scandal," reached the Coliseum at exactly the right time.

Lowden was stopped at last. Senator Warren Gamaliel Harding of Ohio was nominated, largely because he looked like pictures of George Washington. Calvin Coolidge, Governor of Massachusetts, was chosen to be the Vice Presidential candidate, because he had been given credit for breaking up a strike of policemen in Boston.

Harding was elected in a landslide. In a total ballot of 26,759,742, he received 16,141,629 votes, and 404 in the Electoral College, carrying thirty-seven of the forty-eight states. Former Governor James Middleton Cox, of Ohio, running with Franklin Delano Roosevelt, of New York, the Democratic pair, totaled 9,139,866 popular votes and had 127 electoral votes.

Convinced that the system of budgeting government that Lowden had instituted during his term in Illinois was plain common horse sense, and that the United States government needed it badly in the interest of economy, Dawes inaugurated a movement immediately after the election to urge federal budgeting upon Harding. He spoke in favor of the idea before the Chicago Association of Commerce, obtaining its endorsement in the form of a resolution, and before a similar body in Boston. He characterized the existing governmental system of appropriations by Congress, based upon requests by government department heads, as "an impossible business system."

Departmental expenditures, he said, should be coördinated in relation to the taxable resources of the nation. "Our different departments of government have not been coördinated and have each gone to Congress for appropriations direct, thinking only of their own needs, and entirely indifferent to the needs of the other departments or the situation of the government as a whole."

Although friendly to Harding, and liking him, Dawes refused to consider appointment to the new Cabinet, and he said so in Washington when called there on February 2, 1921, to testify before a war expenditures committee of the House of Representatives. The Republican majority of the committee, which had been appointed with Representative Royal Johnson, of South Dakota, a war veteran, as chairman, to investigate the expenditures by Wilson's Democratic administration in prosecution of the war, had been making what appeared to be good capital against the minority. Dawes, the Republican purchasing agent of the A. E. F., was called by the Democratic minority of the committee, in rebuttal.

The hearing in the committee room went on for some time. It had become a bore for most of the Representatives, and particularly so for the newspaper reporters, but it developed into one of the most startling affairs of the whole post-war period.

"You were the purchasing agent for the Amer-

ican Expeditionary Forces?" Congressman Oscar E. Bland, Republican of Indiana, remarked in the course of a desultory examination.

"I was," Dawes squirmed in his chair, bit at a cigar . . . . His annoyance at the whole idea of investigating the American conduct of the war was getting beyond control.

"Is it not true that excessive prices were paid for some articles?" Bland asked then.

"Sure we paid," Dawes rasped. "We didn't stop to dicker. Why, man alive! We had to win the war. It was a man's job."

"Is it not true," Bland persisted innocently, "that excessive prices were paid for mules?"

"HELL MARIA!" Dawes leaped from his chair and strode up and down past the long mahogany table. "I would have paid horse prices for sheep, if the sheep could have pulled artillery to the front!"

Angrily he waved his long cigar in its longer amber holder. He stormed up and down the room.

"Men like Johnson here," Dawes cried, pointing at the chairman, "were standing at the front to be shot at. We had to get them food and ammunition. Oh, it's all right now to say we bought too much vinegar and too many cold chisels, but we saved the civilization of the world!"

When Representative Bland mildly wanted to know if the surplus food and clothing left in

France in American possession after the armistice might not have brought more than the $400,000,000 it did bring in liquidation, he stepped on sore toes. Dawes had been head of the liquidation committee.

"Now, Bland," he said, "you're way off. It is just that sort of fool talk that forced Great Britain to hold onto its stock and attempt to drive a hard bargain. The stuff is there to-day, rotting. You cannot discuss an *ex parte* question 3,000 miles away. England lost billions by listening to that sort of bunk—listening to a lot of people who were afraid of muckrakers at home. They are raising the devil in England now because England did not sell its supplies when we sold.

"My conscience troubles me," he added, saying that he thought France had been charged too much for the American material she had bought. "I fear they will not get out on that purchase. They paid us $400,000,000. If we had brought that back we would have had to pay $150,000,000 in duties." (This was material purchased in Europe, not in the United States.) These two added together made up the appraisal value of the stocks sold to the French.

"We cleaned the slate, and Congress to-day still has pending claims that date back to the revolutionary war.

"There was nothing but red tape in the begin-

"I would have paid horse prices for sheep, if the sheep could have pulled artillery to the front!"

ning in our deals with the diplomats. There is too much pink tea business now in the diplomatic service. Our diplomats are selected too often because of their wealth and without regard to their fitness. Our ministers would not coöperate with us when it was a matter of life and death to our soldiers. They were all tangled up in their red tape. To get vitally needed horses from Spain we had to go there with money in our pockets and then smuggle the animals from the country.

"Why, we actually had to hire an outfit of professional smugglers, the like of which you never saw outside of *Carmen,* to get those horses into France. For weeks we had these accomplished smugglers leading horses up and down the dark, mysterious mountain defiles of the Pyrenees, delivering them at dead of night with mystic pass words and all of that.

"But we got the horses and the horses dragged the cannon.

"Finally the war trade board was organized and authorized to act, and George B. McFadden, its representative, went to France. He was a business man and in an easy and a nice way he made short work of that red tape business. He did in three days what our diplomats couldn't do in three months. It was conclusively shown that so-called open diplomacy is often the worst thing in the world."

There was a lot more in similar vein. The following two paragraphs bit as sharply as the "Hell Maria" blast:

"If you men would spend more time trying to stem the millions of waste going on under your noses instead of trying to put fly specks on the United States army we would have a lot better government.

"Long after this committee is dead and gone and forgotten the achievement of the American army will stand as an everlasting blaze of glory. You have tried to make a mountain out of a molehill. The people are tired of war talk and fault finding. The army was American, neither Republican nor Democratic.

"There is no news in it. If I were not here, strutting around and swearing, there would be no news in this. I bitterly resent this effort to reflect upon the entire army because some poor devil blundered in Switzerland. You cannot put a blotch upon the army. What the Hell did we go in for —to steal money? You could use your time investigating to a better advantage right here, trying to save disgraceful government waste. You could save more money for the people. But, as to France, you haven't got evidence to make a case if one existed, and I don't believe it does."

"Were there not grafters who followed the American army?" he was asked.

"Yes, they were there," Dawes snapped, "some of the most despicable characters on earth, trying to help the army by selling it things it needed at exorbitant figures. There was one man we caught and deported. What's his name? Oh, what's the use! I'm not a muckraker. He was a traitor. I wish we could have shot him."

He took advantage of the situation that had been created to throw in vigorously his argument for budgeting.

"No President since George Washington," he said, "has exercised his prerogative to supervise expenditures. The Presidents must do their duty. I have hopes for the future. The heads of independent bureaus and the secretaries [Cabinet members] fight for their salaries and their prerogatives, get their money and spend it their own way.

"If they knew an axe was ready to fall on them for waste they would be more careful. The time is ripe to make the change. The people were never burdened as they are now by taxation. Let the new President come out with a definite plan for a business government that will crystallize public sentiment behind it and it will choke selfish interests that have been wasting public funds.

"There is only one man who can bring about better coördination between government agencies and that is the President. He can do it only by wielding the meat axe on their damned heads!

Unless Harding does it in the first six months of his Administration, the Administration will be a failure."

Outside of a few earnest persons whose mild protests against slipshod government had earned them the sneering epithet of Reformer, few persons in the United States had paid any attention to their central government. . . . Dawes, by his swearing and raging, his picturesque "Hell Maria!" which was the only unpremeditated thing about his testimony—it had been startled out of him, a good Middle Western cuss word—had called the attention of the nation to two things. He had hung upon a high wall the hides of petty, political capital manufacturers who attempted to gain stature by criticism of a nation in such an emergency as participation in a world war, and he had hammered home his demand for business methods in government.

To all of which the American people, tickled to death with his outbursts, prominently displayed on the first pages of their newspapers, chuckled—and uttered a fervent "Amen." They began to pay more attention to the pettifoggers in Congress; began to have greater respect for the real statesmen in those two legislative bodies.

Another President might have vacillated, thought it over for a year or so, but Harding was thoroughly convinced that budgeting was neces-

sary. In his first message to Congress after inauguration, he urged such legislation as was required for creation of a Bureau of the Budget, got it—and gave Dawes the job of Director.

The Bureau was started on July 1, 1921, and Dawes continued in command for a year. However Harding may have viewed the budgeting idea in the beginning, he certainly went the limit in support of his budget chief when the Bureau was in operation. Requiring more authority than was provided in the legislation creating the Bureau, Dawes obtained support from Harding for an excellent bluff. Department heads who refused to coöperate, or who dawdled, were shown a letter that Harding had given Dawes. It simply said that the services of those who would not coöperate could be dispensed with. They coöperated.

The office was organized. Dawes called to his assistance such men as William T. Abbott, then a vice president of The Central Trust in Chicago; Colonel J. C. Roop, of New York, who had served with him in France as assistant general purchasing agent; Francis Kilkenny, his closest personal aid and office manager; General George Van Horn Moseley, who had been assistant chief of staff at Pershing's general headquarters, Chaumont, and Colonel Henry Smithers, assistant chief of staff of the Service of Supplies. A dozen "dollar a year men," including two of his brothers, Henry and

Rufus, were "invited" to assist, and they gave valiant service.

Again Dawes came into contact with Herbert Hoover. There had been two secretaries of the Department of Commerce since its organization under President Wilson in 1913, but the department had amounted to little. Hoover was planning to spend considerable amounts of money in an effort to make his bureau really of service to American business and industry. As the department estimate for the new budget came to the director's desk in the Treasury Building, Hoover's showed the smallest reduction of all. There was a short conference in the office of the Director of the Budget—and the Department of Commerce budget was cut.

In order to reduce expenses of the various departments, each of which had gone along in its own way previously, the directors of those divisions had to pare out a lot of duplication. But they were not cutting deeply enough. Dawes called a meeting of more than 1,000 chief clerks and department heads. As usual, he started casually to address them, then he swung into his slashing style, a style which usually leaves his audiences paralyzed—but with his ideas pretty well imbedded in their minds.

In the midst of a chronological citation of lack of coöperation by the departments with the Bu-

reau of the Budget, he suddenly turned to his aide, who was standing beside him.

"Francis," he barked, "where are those brooms?"

Kilkenny handed him a bundle of common brooms which appeared identical to the audience. Dawes selected one by its label, brandished it and poked the floor of the platform with it.

"There," he said, "is your broom that meets with Navy Department specifications. And here," thumping the floor with another, "is the broom that meets with Army specifications. And here," a collective thump and bump, "are brooms that do not meet either of those specifications, but are acceptable to other departments and sweep just as well. The navy bought 18,000 of its specification brooms when it could have had 350,000 surplus army brooms for nothing."

That, of course, was pure fireworks. But it worked. There were surpluses of this in one department, too much of that in another. By standardizing and reducing specifications to the lowest common denominator, and instituting central purchasing, supplies of all kinds were bought more cheaply, and surpluses of goods existing in one department went to meet shortages in another.

The Dawes job was finished with the adoption of the first balanced budget. But he kept an eye on what was happening in the department, rumbling now and then, not at General Herbert M.

Lord, chief of finance of the army, who had succeeded him, but at Comptroller General J. Raymond McCarl. Late in December, 1927, in reviewing a book by W. F. Willoughby, director of the Institute of Government Research, *The National Budget System,* Dawes had occasion to say what had been in his mind for a long time. The budget had carried on all right, but the added and material result of a balanced budget—preparation of a regular trial balance similar to that so common and necessary to the modern successful commercial or industrial house—had not been effected, and it has not yet been accomplished.

"The business methods of the various departments," said Dawes in this review, "still are decentralized, and in their present form furnish little aid to the executive or to his agent, the Director of the Budget, in determining the relative operating efficiency and cost of the departments. They operate also to keep Congress uninformed. The present system of governmental bookkeeping would not be tolerated for a day in a properly conducted private business enterprise.

"With the present powers in the hands of the Comptroller General he could inaugurate a reform in governmental bookkeeping for the United States which would at once make it a model for the world. The changes thus far have been minor and comparatively inconsequential.

"The reform in governmental accounting is certain to come. It may be that the present occupant [McCarl] will continue in his hesitation to undertake it properly, which will be a great misfortune, but it is inconceivable that successors in the office will fail to grasp this great opportunity for governmental service. Until it is done all business by the government will be conducted under a serious handicap."

In the year of the Dawes administration of the Bureau of the Budget, government expenses were reduced by $1,741,000,000. Although the federal government collected in revenue $1,502,000,000 less than it had in the previous fiscal year, it showed a surplus of ordinary receipts over public debt and ordinary expenditures of $335,759,000. At the end of the 1921 fiscal year, with $1,502,000,000 more income, there was an excess of only $169,588,000.

"I do not believe I would have tackled the job," Dawes said when it was all over, "if it had not been for my experience with the same work in the A. E. F. I saw that the job could be done for the whole government."

It is curious that newspaper and news reel photographers are seldom victims of personal violence. Men and women who are imperious and haughty otherwise, are human putty at the slangy, disrespectful direction of the camera man.

But one photographer at least met his Waterloo when he invaded the Treasury building to obtain a picture of Dawes at his desk. There had been photographers there telling him what to do and how to look, but this luckless individual forgot a group appointment that Dawes had made for the men, and came late and alone.

"Young man," Dawes glared at him, "if you want to live to a ripe old age you had better get out of here!"

The photographer "got."

It was a gentler but none the less firm rebuke that Herbert Hoover gave a moving picture man in 1928. Escaping boresome inactivity at his home, Palo Alto, California, while awaiting the ceremonies notifying him of his Presidential nomination, Mr. Hoover had taken his following of reporters and photographers on a motor trip to the Oregon border. Setting forth one morning at Brown's camp on the Klamath river equipped for fishing, Hoover espied one of the moving picture men waddling toward him with his heavy camera and tripod.

"There are two things which a man cannot do before a camera," Hoover smiled slightly as he stopped the man. "One is fishing, and the other is praying."

It was while Dawes was organizing the budget that he came to adopt his peculiar pipe. For

years he had been a constant smoker, consuming daily many thin, dark panatelas. Feeling a little below standard he went to his doctor in 1916.

"How many cigars do you smoke in a day?" the physician asked.

"Around twenty," Dawes replied.

"Cut that in half—smoke no more than ten," was the doctor's orders, and Dawes obeyed him literally, although instead of the little panatelas he adopted the longest and largest cigars that he could find, and he smoked them in a holder that was almost as long.

During the war a British officer gave him a pipe which Dawes used now and then, dividing his allegiance between the cigars, which were sometimes hard to get, and the briar. He was photographed by a newspaper syndicate camera man on the Treasury steps one afternoon, and the pictures as reproduced in many newspapers showed him holding the pipe. The next time he returned to Chicago a package and a letter awaited him on his desk at the bank.

The letter, from a man who was manufacturing an odd style of pipe in a small way in Chicago, said that the writer had noticed that The General was now smoking a pipe, and it would be a pleasure if The General would try the pipe which was in the accompanying package. Dawes tried it, and liked it; he also was won by the manufactur-

er's sales talk. This pipe, the inventor explained, was so constructed that all tobacco tar distilled in smoking would be trapped in a false bottom into which the fire bowl was screwed. Dawes promptly ordered a gross of them, and few photographs of him since have shown him without that pipe. He loads it at the dinner table, is restless when confined within doors where smoking is impossible; it is his constant companion, and has become his trade mark. Some of his friends, and more of those who are not his friends, have maintained that the pipe, because it is different, is an affectation, particularly since its like is scarcely ever seen between any other man's teeth. Affectation or not, The General has stuck to his pipe, has given copies of it to every man who has shown the slightest curiosity about it, and he really seems to enjoy it.

CHAPTER TEN

Back home again after establishment of the budget, Dawes found the political and industrial situation in Chicago was approaching a crisis. The city government, under Mayor William Hale Thompson, with William E. Lorimer in the unofficial chair of adviser, and the Illinois state government, managed by Governor Len Small, had been under constant bombardment by the conservative newspapers. Graft charges were rampant, "racketeers" and gangsters seemed as much at home in the City Hall and the State House as in the speakeasies. Rival gangs of hoodlums were fighting bloody battles over the right of territory in supplying illicitly brewed beer, redistilled denatured alcohol for gin-making purposes, and bootleg liquor to speakeasy drinking places and to righteous citizens who bought and drank what they could get, and protested against the lawlessness and liquor graft which made their unconstitutional beverages possible. Racketeers had wormed their way into control of some labor unions and as a judicial election approached, endorsement of candidates for the bench by such unions was made attendant upon promises by the candidates that they would not issue injunctions against union mem-

bers. This form of protest had grown out of the granting by various respected judges of injunctions against certain labor groups, enjoining them from picketing or otherwise interfering with building construction contractors or industrial plant managements which had been in difficulties with the union locals.

Along toward the end of April, Dawes called to his home in Evanston a number of close friends and organized "The Minute Men of the Constitution." The purpose of the Minute Men, he explained, was to function as an open-eyed body of men throughout the state to watch elections, prevent vote frauds at the polls and to counteract "unfair propaganda." The society was not secret, had no passwords or meeting places and was non-political. It would seek to obtain delegates from Illinois to local and national political conventions of both parties pledged to seek adoption in platforms of these planks:

"Advocating renewal and building up of respect for law and the Constitution of the United States.

"Condemning all influences and agencies which breed class or religious discriminations.

"Recognizing the right of the individual to associate with others to defend within the law his rights and advance his economic, social and political interests.

"Indorsing the announced position of the gov-

ernment of the United States maintaining the right of a citizen to work without unlawful interference is as sacred as the right of a citizen to cease work, irrespective of whether he is or is not a member of a labor or other organization.

"Declaring that loyalty to the government of the United States must be above and beyond that to any civil or industrial organization working for the interest of special groups or classes."

The last two paragraphs struck directly at labor union picketing, blacklisting, and violence against employers who were attempting to manage their labor employment on an "open shop" basis—hiring both union and nonunion men. The previous paragraphs were aimed at radical politicians and communistic or socialistic policies, and at the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which was riding high politically with its program of religious and racial intolerance.

"The average run of politicians in Washington," Dawes declared at a subsequent organization meeting at the Advertising Post of the American Legion in Chicago, "are trimmers and comedians. They are too red for decent people to associate with, but they fade into a pink when one tries to pick a fight with them.

"The country needs a new bill of rights, just as it did when the Declaration of Independence was signed. We need to protect the country from those

who are trying to dig under the corner stones of the Constitution. The organization is not a political body, but we are going to fight for clean politics. Neither is it anti-union. It is not against the closed union shop, but it maintains that union disputes should be settled in a legal manner."

Organized labor, he said later, in a speech at Danville, must bow to the right of the employer to have open shop conditions if he wished, and labor differences must be settled in a lawful manner.

Naturally some labor groups passed resolutions condemning Dawes and his Minute Men of the Constitution, but the Minute Men took credit for the election of an "unbluffed" judiciary, and withdrawal of Thompson from the 1923 mayoralty primary. After the organization had grown to a membership of more than 25,000 men in nearly thirty towns and cities, Dawes resigned when nominated in 1924 for Vice President by the Republicans. The Minute Men of the Constitution virtually ceased to exist after that.

Throughout the 1924 campaign the Vice Presidential candidate was introduced at organized meetings as the author of the Dawes plan. It annoyed him, but he said nothing except to the members of "The Peewit Club, Nest Number One"—which mysterious organization will be exposed in a later chapter. To them he complained, in the

"I am not a candidate for any office." General Dawes in 1924, following his return from Paris and the work of the Committee of Experts.

privacy of special campaign train compartments, that he was only a part of the conferences that made the Dawes plan possible, and representing him as the fountain-head of all international wisdom was an injustice to the others. But prominent speaker after prominent speaker introduced him thus until he burst forth one night in a public protest.

It was in Philadelphia, in the old Music Hall. The audience that turned out to hear him was a select one, the broad white starched bosoms of the men's dress shirts and the color that was beginning to come back in women's formal evening wear decorated the main floor and tier upon tier of boxes. On the platform sat The General, and with him were Governor Gifford Pinchot and a woman of considerable social prominence. The woman introduced the Governor—referring in passing to the distinguished guest whom they had all come to hear as "the man who had made the salvation of Europe possible." The Governor also introduced the Vice Presidential candidate as "the man who——"

As Dawes rose to begin his speech he looked down into the orchestra pit where the members of the Peewit Club sat sharpening their pencils. There was an ominous twinkle in his eyes.

"Throughout this campaign," he said, "I have been introduced as the man who, alone and un-

aided, all by himself, drew up and adopted what is known as the Dawes plan. I have explained as best I could all along that that plan was the result of concerted effort. It could not have been possible without the full effort and the full coöperation of every member. To have it said repeatedly that I did it alone, just between us—makes me sick."

By the terms of the Versailles Peace treaty of June, 1919, Germany was to be given a bill for all war damages done to the people and countries of the Allied nations, including pensions for veterans and bereaved families. A Reparation Commission was formed to draw up the charges and terms of settlement. The payment of France's war debt to other countries was to be made parallel to Germany's settlement. French and British armies would occupy the Rhine region. The cost of occupaton was to be borne by "payment in kind," principally coal. The first proposal was that Germany pay annually a minimum of $750,000,000 for thirty-five years with a maximum aggregate of $67,250,000,000.

The world grew dizzy in just reading those figures, but that was nothing in comparison to the vertigo suffered by the Allied and German negotiators. Division of the penalty money was decided upon as 52 per cent to France, 22 per cent to Great Britain, 10 per cent to Italy, 8 per cent to

Belgium, 1½ per cent to Japan, with the 6½ per cent remaining to go to the smaller nations, the United States accepting none.

A second proposal was that Germany pay a total of $60,000,000,000 in forty-two years, and a third placed the total at $86,510,000,000 over the same period. Then in April, 1921, the Commission announced an "assessment" of $33,000,000,000, or 58 per cent of the total claim, to be tendered at the rate of $500,000,000 annually, plus 26 per cent of German exports. Germany actually paid $250,000,000 as its first installment due September 1, 1921, and an export tax of $62,000,000. Then real difficulties began to arise. Germany's "capacity to pay" had not been considered. That was the bill, as the Allies figured it; the bill was presented. Germany protested that the only way she could get the money was by borrowing. She couldn't borrow it, having no credit abroad, and, her ministers maintained, she could not raise it otherwise.

In June, 1923, the Germans, alarmed over the French occupation of the Ruhr, a military movement designed to force Germany's settlement, proposed that the total debt be fixed at $7,750,000,000, to be paid in bond issues guaranteed by mortgages on German railroads, industries and natural resources, and luxury taxes. Previously, Great Britain had proposed a series of complicated bond

issues, Germany to stabilize her currency, balance her budget, and accept supervision by a Foreign Finance Commission which would replace the Reparation Commission.

At this juncture, early in 1923, the Reparation Commission decided that an international committee of experts on all financial matters should be appointed to study the problem and recommend a program for settlement. Accordingly the First and Second Committees of Experts were chosen with two representatives from each of the Allied nations on the First Committee, and one from each nation to make up the Second Committee. The First Committee would be charged with stabilizing Germany's currency, which had been so inflated that it was worthless except to collectors of curiosities, and put it upon a gold basis. The Second Committee would consider means of estimating the amount of Germany's capital that had been exported, and of bringing it back to her.

The committees set to work on January 14, 1924, and reported on April 9, 1924. The report was adopted and made effective on August 30, 1924. Currency stabilization, the First Committee maintained, would follow balancing of the budget and this entailed the organization of a gold bank of issue, related to the Reichsbank, but free of political control, to issue the new currency, to collect the money, and make the payments.

This committee made no attempt to solve the biggest problem of all, the total amount that Germany should be compelled to give, and the number of years the nation would be allowed. Those questions would be determined later, the Dawes plan arranging Germany's affairs so that she could begin funding, pending the actual settlement. Under the Dawes plan nothing was to be paid in the first year following the adoption of the new system, but thereafter annuities would range up to $615,000,000. It was final settlement of this moot point that brought Owen D. Young, as head of another Committee of Experts, again to Paris in February, 1929. Through his efforts an agreement was made providing that for thirty-seven years Germany would pay annually an average of $505,000,000, and for twenty-two years after that $425,000,000 annually, whereupon payments would cease.

Pretty expensive business, war: The bill Germany now agrees to pay totals $28,035,000,000!*

(*) By June 1, 1930, approximately $4,000,000,000 had been spent in reconstruction and repopulation of the ten war-torn departments of France, obscuring the traces of all except a few outstanding mementoes of the war in that country. Nearly 2,500,000 natives of the ten departments, driven from their homes by the war, had been returned; nearly 10,000 factories had been rebuilt, more than 17,000 public buildings—schools, churches, village halls, etc.—had been reconstructed; 1,107,000,000 cubic yards of water had been pumped from mines, which like factories, were fully equipped with modern machinery. Of 3,100,000 private claims examined from 1919 to 1930, only 12,000 were still outstanding at the latter date.

Although the appointment of the American members of the First and Second Expert Committees was not made by President Coolidge (who took no official notice of the Reparation negotiations), the selection of these men was done with his approval and knowledge.

The idea for creation of the international Committee of Experts was American in origin, growing out of a speech made at New Haven in December, 1922, by Charles Evans Hughes, then Secretary of State, in which he made that definite proposal as a means of restoring order out of the dangerous European financial tangle. The suggestion was received favorably in Paris, London, Rome and Brussels and the two committee members for each nation were chosen, they in turn nominating their staffs of experts.

President Harding had the Committee under consideration when he died suddenly in San Francisco on the evening of August 2, 1923, following his return from a trip to Alaska. The board of physicians who had attended him through what had been supposed a minor illness to apparent recovery, said death was caused by apoplexy. Perhaps it was, if apoplexy can come from a broken heart, for Harding had come to know that friends he had trusted and placed in high federal office had turned thieves.

Calvin Coolidge, spending a quiet vacation at

Plymouth Notch, in the Green Mountains of Vermont at the home of his father, was sworn in as President of the United States that night, in the light thrown from a kerosene lamp, by Justice of the Peace John Coolidge, his father.

Charles G. Dawes and Owen D. Young* of New York were chosen to be the American members. Dawes was made Chairman of the whole committee upon his arrival in Paris. Henry M. Robinson, president of the First National Bank of Los Angeles, was named American member of the Second Committee, which functioned under the able chairmanship of the Right Honorable Reginald McKenna, British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The first conference of the American group was held in Washington in December, 1923, Dawes and

(*) Owen D. Young, Democrat, was born at Van Hornesville, New York, October 27, 1874, and after education at St. Lawrence University and Boston University Law school, practiced law in Boston from 1896 to 1912 when he was made general counsel for the General Electric company, becoming vice president in 1913 and chairman of the board of directors in 1922. He held a similar position with the Radio Corporation of America which he organized. He is a director in several large corporations. He was a member of President Wilson's Second Industrial Conference, chairman of President Harding's Committee on Business and Unemployment and head of the American committee of the International Arbitration Board for Trade Disputes of the International Chamber of Commerce. Following his work with the 1923 Committee of Experts he acted as Agent General for reparation payments and when the first plan required revision in 1929 he headed another expert committee for permanent settlement which was accomplished in June of that year and finally adopted in 1930.

Young meeting for the first time. Rufus C. Dawes, brother of Charles, was made Chief of Staff of Experts, and Stuart M. Crocker was chosen Secretary. Those four, together with Secretary of State Hughes, Secretary of Commerce Hoover, Dwight Morrow and Roland Boyden, who had been American unofficial observer at the Reparation Commission parleys, selected the American section of the Staff of Experts. The men so named were Joseph S. Davis, professor of economics at Princeton University, Colonel Alan G. Goldsmith, chief of the Western European division of the Department of Commerce; Walter S. Tower, United States Commercial Agent at London; Chester Lloyd Jones, Commercial Agent at Paris and Charles E. Herring, Commercial Agent at Berlin.

Mr. Robinson, for the work of the Second Committee, chose as his aids John E. Barber of the First National Bank of Los Angeles, Colonel Leonard P. Ayres, now with the Cleveland Trust Company, former chief of the Statistical Bureau of the United States Army, and an adviser of the Wilson peace treaty delegation of 1919, and John B. Gundry of Cleveland.

The party sailed on the *America* on December 29, 1923, with a truck load of information that had been gathered by the Reparation Commission, and its own documents and books, which the members started in to digest immediately, the ship captain

setting aside a children's playroom for their work. As leader of the American contingent, Dawes began conversations on the boat looking toward a formulation of the American position. It was important that the Americans state their policy definitely, and that policy was drawn up by Dawes in a speech he was to deliver at the opening session.

Equality of tax burden had been the basis for considering the amounts Germany should pay up to this time—the feeling that all of Germany should bear at least as heavy a load of taxation to pay for the war as the French, British, Italians and Belgians and even the Americans were paying. Back in 1919 American experts had sought to have reparations based upon Germany's capacity to pay, but the Reparations Commission had thought it best not to go too far with that idea. The Americans believed firmly that the capacity to pay idea should be uppermost in mind, but they realized also that measurement of this capacity was a difficult problem, if not at this time an impossible one. What Germany could pay if her debts were properly funded, her financial affairs untangled, her budget balanced, her credit restored abroad, was one thing; what she could pay without those helps and with every man's hand against her, outside German borders, was another.

Young expressed the opinion on the ship that the best basis of approach to the problem would

be Germany's capacity to pay, estimated as of the present moment. If Germany, he reasoned, were loaded with a burden no greater than that of her creditors, she could restore her productive powers, thus permitting an exportable surplus, since exporting goods was her only means of producing wealth with which to pay.

"One thing was certain," Rufus C. Dawes writes in his account of the workings of the committees, "more would not be paid than could be paid. He [Young] emphasized the importance of establishing confidence and inspiring hope among the German people. We all felt at the time that turning away from the discussion of the definite obligation to be fixed, and the measurement of capacity to pay based upon the exportable surplus, and substituting for it the principle of establishing equality in the burden of taxation, would be introducing a novel idea to which there might be some difficulty in converting others.

"But when we reached Paris we found that others had reached the same conclusion by the same reasoning, and none of them spoke of it as being the rule of action laid down in the Treaty of Versailles. . . . At any rate, the ready acquiescence of all the members in this principle established, at the outset, a common viewpoint and a mutual understanding which persisted throughout the entire conference."

Upon the arrival in Paris, the general laws of the conference were laid down and agreed upon—the Versailles Treaty must be upheld, the rights of France must be enforced, the German government and German people must realize the necessity of complying with the treaty, making their payments, and getting down to business instead of following a policy of passive resistance which, if pursued, might bring on almost any undesired result.

The first meeting was held on January 15 in the dining room of the Hotel Astoria, with M. Barthou, president of the Reparation Commission, presiding.

"Gentlemen," Barthou said in part, "we ask you courteously to set to work, to produce the opinions which the Commission has unanimously demanded of you. Take your time, but let it be no longer than is necessary. We expect much of you. The whole Commission rejoices that American citizens have come to coöperate with the Allied experts; this will greatly reinforce the authority of the Committee's findings.

"I ask General Dawes, on behalf of the Reparation Commission, to preside over your labors; his well known competence and that energy which is known to legend, will help you to bring them to a speedy and successful conclusion."

Dawes was the next speaker. Beginning slowly,

haltingly, in the reading of his manuscript, he soon swung into his customary pace. To the average citizen in all countries, he said, it seemed strange that common sense agreements, which characterize Allied policy in emergency, come so slowly.

"He does not realize," Dawes looked straight into the eyes of his hearers, "the barriers which must first be beaten down, erected by national pride and the pride and selfish interests of different Allied officials whose powers are affected by any act of coercive inter-Allied coördination and the incessant misrepresentations and intolerable interjections of those foul and carrion-loving vultures—the nationalistic demagogs of all countries, who would exploit their pitiful personalities out of a common misfortune. . . . . What is the question of to-day? Upon what does the success of this Committee depend? Upon powers of persuasion? Primarily, no. Upon honesty and ability? Primarily, no. It depends chiefly upon whether, in the public mind and conscience of the Allies and of the world, there is an adequate conception of the great disaster which faces each Ally and Europe unless common sense is crowned king.

"Does this conception exist? We do not know, but we shall know. To this knowledge of whether this conception exists, the results of our work and the actions of the Reparation Commission thereon will perhaps be the final contribution. As an

American citizen, invited to this place by the Reparation Commission, I can speak neither for the government of the United States nor for the American people, but as an individual, I can say that I have read, in shame and humiliation, the outpourings of the American nationalistic demagogs who undertake to lecture Europe in order to lift themselves into some petty office or maintain political popularity. . . . We come, humble in opinion, knowing that there is no barrier against the acquiring of knowledge like the pride of preconceived opinion. . . . This is no time to mince words. What to-day, at the inception of the work of this committee, have we found? In the first place we see an impenetrable and colossal fog bank of economic opinions, based upon premises of fact which have changed so rapidly as to have made the bulk of them worthless even if they were in agreement. With all due respect to the great ability of those experts who have wandered through this gloomy labyrinth, they could not have failed to come out in opposite directions. . . .

"The world realizes that if the German people lose their capacity to work, Germany loses the capacity to pay these reparations which are so great an element in European solvency. . . .

"We are not asked to determine the legality of the occupation of the Ruhr; we are not asked to declare the political effects of this or that prospec-

tive act of common sense; we are not asked to give our opinion upon those things which politicians of all countries have interjected into a situation which primarily demands, for its proper consideration, business minds, uninfluenced by political ambition or thought of personal consequences. Upon our report to the Reparation Commission of a plan for the stabilization of Germany's currency and the balancing of the German budget, it is for them, not for us, to be concerned with political effects.

. . . .

"If, without fear or favor, we suggest a plan for stabilization of German currency and the balancing of the German budget, which the Reparation Commission deems fit to ratify, we will at least have done this; we will have suggested that which has enabled the Reparation Commission to start Germany toward productivity; and the reëstablishment of German productivity is the starting point of European prosperity.

"As the economic processes of Germany under a stable currency and with a balanced budget are revived, there will be demonstrated the capacity of Germany to pay. Basic and controlling facts will then first appear.

"Any common sense individual can estimate the distance a well man can run. Fifty medical experts, gathered at the bedside of a dying patient, will give fifty different estimates of how far he can

run if he gets well. The Reparation Commission and the world, upon the question of Germany's capacity to pay, have thus far been listening to the medical experts. Let us first help Germany to get well.

"Now that we are members of a committee having a definite and authoritatively defined object in view, we are less concerned, for the moment, with the present capacity of Germany to pay, than with the present capacity and courage of this committee to act. . . .

"The first step which we should take, it seems to me, is to devise a system for stabilizing Germany's currency, so that we can get some water to run through the budget mill. Let us build the mill after we find the stream to turn its wheels."

That was his conclusion. The speech was equally well received—miracle!—in Paris, in London, in Washington, Rome, Brussels, and in Berlin. The Allies felt that through this committee they would get at least what they believed themselves entitled to have. The Germans felt a return of optimism for the first time since the Armistice. They would not be crushed to dust and the dust blown to the four winds of international bankruptcy. Instead, they would be permitted a return to productivity.

From the moment of publication of that speech the committee was known as the Dawes committee,

and the plan which it evolved as the Dawes plan. It is just as incorrect to say that Dawes was altogether responsible for what his committee accomplished as it is to say that he had nothing to do with the ultimate result, which is the contention of some international critics who are not familiar with what happened. Dawes was the coördinator of that mixed group, and it was a group that included some of the best economic thinkers in the world, who were workers as well. Sir Josiah Charles Stamp and Sir Robert M. Kindersley were the British members of the First Committee. The Right Honorable Reginald McKenna, for Britain, headed the Second Committee. For France, Edward Allix and Jean Parmentier worked on the First Committee, and M. Laurent-Atthalin on the Second. Italy sent Prof. Federico Flora, Dr. Alberto Pirelli and Dr. Mario Alberti. Emile Francqui, Baron Maurice Houtart and Albert-Edouard Jannssen, came from Belgium.

The work was divided into sections at the first business session, Young being made chairman of a group to study stabilization of currency, and Stamp head of the budgeting committee. According to observations made by persons not connected with any of the commissions or committees Young, Stamp, Kindersley, Parmentier, Dr. Pirelli and Francqui worked out most of the formulae by which Germany's reconstruction was made pos-

sible. The full committee held fifty-four meetings. Young's subcommittee held eighty-one meetings and Stamp's group met sixty-three times. Dawes attended every meeting, acting now as a judge in coördinating opinions of the different nations represented, now as a balance wheel for them all, and again as a diplomat in bringing one nationality, or one school of thought, to see the points that were being made by another.

Speed was of prime importance. M. Barthou had urged haste by the experts and the Reparations Commission fretted, virtually at a standstill, while the experts functioned. Stamp worked often until three o'clock in the morning and was quite likely, after such a session, to have his secretaries at it again two hours later. With the exception of Young and Dawes, the First Committee members were known to the public in their own countries as economic experts. They were confronted with the double problem of finding solutions of the reparation tangle, which at the same time would be acceptable to their own people, and which would not injure their reputations and standings at home. Frequently it was necessary for Dawes, as chairman of the group, and the coördinator of ideas and plans, to convince the professors and economists that ideas which they believed right would not embarrass them personally later.

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, who had just been forced to resign from the board of the National bank für Deutschland in Berlin because of differences of opinion between him and Jacob Goldschmidt as to policy in the abysmal decline of the mark, was seeking capital in Holland and England for organization of a new German bank of issue. He was invited by the experts to come to Paris and explain internal conditions in Germany, and his plans for a bank to issue currency, which seemed to dovetail with the desire of the experts. The committee heard his clear, concise outline of the German financial situation and then debated whether it would be better to allow Schacht to announce as his own idea the formation of his bank, or for the Committee to announce it as its idea. The latter view was taken, inasmuch as Schacht would have that additional support of confidence abroad that the experts could give him. Eventually he did form this bank. He was appointed a member of the Currency commission for the German Reich during the stabilization period, with an advisory seat in the Cabinet. By unanimous vote of the Reichsrat he was made president of the Reichsbank, in which capacity he established the gold issue bank and was instrumental in putting the mark upon a sound basis.*

(*) The Bank for International Settlements, planned by the Young Committee, to handle international clearances for German

As the experts delved into their ever-growing mass of information, drawing out conclusions here and there, it became necessary for them to go to Berlin. This was done for a twofold purpose: to give the German people further proof of the sincerity of the committee's designs, and to obtain first hand information. General Dawes called on Chancellor Marx at the conclusion of the Berlin visit to extend the committee's thanks for his coöperation. On that visit Marx confided to the Chairman that he felt that, in the action of the experts, there existed the last hope of a reasonable economic settlement. Dr. Gustav Stresemann, German Foreign Minister, in a speech subsequently at Elberfeld, said, "When I reflect on the negotiations conducted in Paris and Berlin by the committees of experts, for the first time I see the glimmer of dawn on the horizon."

While the experts were in Berlin a rumor that Charles Dawes had resigned from the committee was circulated and given world-wide newspaper publicity. It was denied officially by both Charles and Rufus Dawes, but it did the damage that was intended—if it actually was a rumor started by foreign exchange speculators, as was supposed by

payments, was formally organized at Basel, Switzerland, in April, 1930, by sixteen directors representing seven nations. Gates W. McGarrah, of New York City, former chairman of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, was elected president of the bank and chairman of the board.

the committee—for the currency of all the European Allies declined. No sooner had the committee returned to Paris than, on February 19, another rumor was circulated. This was to the effect that Premier Poincare had interfered with the committee to such an extent that both General Dawes and Young would resign. This, too, was promptly denied. Poincare, instead of interfering, was, on the contrary, of considerable assistance to the committee, for he realized that its work was consructive, and that only through supporting it could France hope to recover her claims from Germany.

The work of the committee was finished and, upon making its report, it was discharged. Instead of sailing immediately for home, General Dawes visited London, to tell in interviews there of the work the British members of the two committees had done. He went to Brussels and Rome to do a like personal service for the experts from Belgium and Italy.

Arriving in New York from Southampton on April 28, 1924, Dawes found an incipient movement under way to make him a Vice Presidential candidate, but he refused to discuss the boom and stated that he was not in the running. After calling on President Coolidge in Washington he returned to Chicago on May 2, where he again insisted that he was not a candidate.

He knew that his work on the budget, his "Hell Maria" defense of the army, and his latest efforts in Europe had made him internationally known, even where he had not been known before. When he said he was not a candidate for Vice President, or for any elective office, he meant just that—but he was in a receptive mood. He preferred, if any nomination was to come to him, that it come without effort or campaigning of any sort on his part.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Long before the Republican National Convention was called to order on June 10, 1924, at Cleveland, it was a foregone conclusion that Calvin Coolidge would be nominated to succeed himself as President of the United States. But, since there was no Vice President to be renominated, there was considerable scurrying around among the Republican King-Makers to find a running mate for the man from Vermont.

There were numerous candidates who were either in a pacific receptive mood or militantly campaigning for the second place on the ticket. Former Senator William S. Kenyon, of Iowa; Senator Charles Curtis, of Kansas, the majority leader of the Upper House; Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho; Congressman Theodore Burton, of Ohio, and Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover were the principal possibilities. Frank O. Lowden, of Illinois, who had failed of Presidential nomination in 1920, and Charles G. Dawes, were being put forward by Middle Western minorities.

According to well established American political theory, the Vice Presidential candidate of either party is chosen: first, to satisfy the minority

that failed to nominate its candidate for President; second, to add strength in a politically doubtful state; also the Vice President must come from a state located some distance from the Presidential nominee's home. According to this theory, Curtis should have been nominated in 1924 instead of 1928, and it seemed that the cards lay that way in 1924. However, the situation was not as it had been in previous conventions. There was a minority that opposed Mr. Coolidge, but it was leaderless. On the second roll call Mr. Lowden was nominated in spite of his insistence that he would refuse it. He did refuse it, by long distance telephone, and the convention recessed for a couple of hours, trying to find out where it stood. The consequent dicker apparently favored Mr. Curtis who had the support of National Chairman William M. Butler, after Borah had been dropped. But the third ballot saw Dawes nominated, not by a majority to satisfy a minority, but by a runaway convention that threw its bosses overboard. On three ballots for Vice President, the Nebraska delegation voted solidly and staunchly for Dawes. Congressman A. W. Jefferis, of that state, had placed Dawes in nomination, and he was selected to be chairman of the Notification Committee.

Dawes was in Marietta, where, on June 10, he had been the principal speaker in the commencement exercises at Marietta college. In that speech

he had, in a way, forecast his nomination and his plan of campaign.

"The world and this country," he said, "needs leadership fearless enough to face the crowd and fight for an unpopular truth. If we're sick and need an operation we can't be cured by soft words and honeyed medicines of the demagogic quack doctors. We need the truth and we need men fearless enough to stand up and tell us the truth, no matter how unpopular the truth may be.

"For the first time in my life they are beginning to tell me that I'm growing popular—and for the first time in my life I am beginning to suspect that I may be wrong.

"This lack of truthful leadership is the cause of most of Europe's present troubles. The same condition exists over here. Our farmers of the Northwest need the truth, rather than the honeyed cure-all promises of the quack politicians. A true statement of any case is the first essential to a cure, and the longer we listen to the promises of men like Hiram Johnson the harder the cure will be."

On the evening of June 13, Dawes sat before a radio receiving set in the home of his uncle, William W. Mills, as the muddled Republican convention straightened itself out and nominated him. Mr. Mills, a delegate from Ohio, went to a long distance telephone immediately after the final tally and called his home.

"Hello, Charlie, how are you?" he asked when he had his nephew on the wire.

"Oh, I'm all right, Uncle Bill. How are you?" Dawes replied.

"Fine. They just nominated you for Vice President."

"Yes, I heard it over the radio."

"Is it all right, Charlie?"

"What—is what all right?"

"Why—will you accept?"

"Yes. I'm writing a telegram to the Associated Press now."

Dawes scarcely had replaced the receiver on the telephone when most of Marietta descended upon the Mills house. Half of the town's citizens were there, cheering for him, and finally he came out on the porch and thanked them in a very short talk. "This is no time or occasion for speech making," he said. "I want only to thank you, and all my dear friends of Marietta for your kindness in coming."

His statement, sought by the Associated Press, was even briefer.

"I accept the nomination by the Republican Party for the Vice Presidency," his statement read. "I deeply appreciate the honor conferred on me."

Returning to Chicago the next day he refused to talk for publication, saying he "might have something to say when officially notified."

American political convention procedure is naive. A month or so after the candidate has listened to the radio broadcast of his nomination, he is told about it in a huge, prepared meeting and he reads his speech of acceptance. The formality is a relic of the horseback days.

Dawes began to study again. He had from June until the following March to find out about this new job of his—presiding over the United States Senate, if he were elected, and he had not the slightest doubt of that. He found that the Senate code for procedure did not exactly follow Robert's Rules of Order—that the Senate makes its own rules and its own precedent, and frequently upsets both.

He broke his resolution of silence three evenings after returning home, when Evanston gave him a demonstration, 2,000 persons standing in the rain outside his home until he came out to the veranda. Chairman Butler, of the Republican National Committee, was there; so was President Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern University, who extended the community's greetings.

"I know you want me to say something," said the nominee, "and yet upon such an occasion it would be unseemly in me to speak in a partisan manner. But it occurs to me that there is one subject which may be called political and yet is thoroughly non-partisan—a subject upon which all good citizens

whatever their party must agree—and that is the curse of demagogery in political discussions in this country.

"To such an extent has grown this evil among the politicians of both parties that the real facts and the economic principles involved in questions of national policy are continually obscured by a dense and putrid fog bank of demagogic argument, designed simply for the purpose of forwarding selfish personal, political and group interests.

"I have recently returned from Europe where I have seen, in prostrated industry and human suffering, the effects of demagogic political appeals to the passions and prejudices of the different people as distinguished from appeals to their reason and common sense. To the very brink of the abyss has Europe been brought by this method of treating serious questions, involving great elemental and economic principles. To save herself she has abandoned the demagog and returned to common sense.

"An orgy of demagogism has been running rife in the world, and we here in the United States are feeling its devastating effects. All good Republicans and all good Democrats, who put their country above their parties, demand the beginning of an era of common sense in public discussions. We may differ on many subjects, but as good citizens we can unite in demanding from those who repre-

sent us in political debate that they present our differences honestly and from the standpoint of truth, not from the standpoint of passion and prejudice.

"In the campaign which is before me, and as a duty which I owe not simply to a party, but to the citizens of the United States, I pledge myself to adhere to the truth and to the common sense conclusions to be drawn therefrom. As to the demagog on the stump, whatever may be his party, I want it distinctly understood that in the coming campaign I ask no quarter, and will give none. I know that I will have the sympathy of all good citizens irrespective of party and I hope our political opponents will follow the same course."

On July 1 Dawes called on President Coolidge in Washington, and in a conference between those two, and Chairman Butler and Frank W. Stearns, of Boston, the President's old friend, the campaign was outlined roughly. It was planned that after the President's notification on July 24, in Washington, and the Vice President's notification on August 19, in Evanston, Coolidge would remain close to Washington, or his father's home at Plymouth Notch, Vermont, while Dawes would do most of the traveling in an intensive sixty-day campaign, beginning about September 1.

That campaign was started ten days early, for on the afternoon following the notification Dawes

left Evanston for Augusta, Maine. The notification was a highlight in the history of that pleasant old suburban town of Evanston. The lawn of the Dawes home was covered with crushed stone, a speakers' platform and press stand were erected adjoining the east veranda, and rough board benches provided seats for a small part of the crowd that came to hear the opening of the Republican campaign. A public address system carried the speeches into a park between Sheridan road and Lake Michigan as the principals stood in the strong rays of moving picture flood lights. It was estimated that 30,000 persons were in sight of the platform.

In that speech of acceptance, following the notification by Mr. Jefferis, Dawes laid down his campaign issue. It proved to be his principal and almost his only issue—and almost his only speech, too, for he deviated very little from it in subsequent appearances.*

"This is a campaign of brass tacks," he said, "not bombast. . . ."

Robert Marion La Follette, Progressive Republican and senior Senator from Wisconsin, had been nominated as Presidential candidate of the Progressives. The Democratic junior Senator from Montana, Burton Kendall Wheeler, was the Vice

(*) See Appendix for text of acceptance speech.

Presidential nominee. Republican leaders were confident that they could defeat John W. Davis and Charles W. Bryan, the Democratic candidates, since the Jeffersonians had committed political suicide in their terrific convention at Madison Square Garden, New York. Their fight over condemning the Ku Klux Klan by name in the platform, and the death struggle between William Gibbs McAdoo, the dry, and Alfred E. Smith, the wet, for the nomination, had sent the delegates home with little enthusiasm for the campaign.

The La Follette candidacy, however, was regarded in the East as a real bugaboo, since a strong third party was a rarity. Roosevelt's third party bolt in 1912 had elected Wilson, the Democrat. La Follette would carry enough Western states in the election, the Eastern political writers were saying, to prevent a majority choice, thereby throwing the election into the House of Representatives. The proper point of attack was the third party. Dawes squared off in his acceptance speech and delivered a broadside against Senator La Follette, and kept on delivering broadsides until the finish of the campaign.

In that acceptance speech he sketched over the various issues as the party platform defined them —economy, tax reduction, non-participation in the League of Nations, entrance into the World Court. Then he assailed the Progressives, upon

whom he attached the anathema of all conservatives—Socialism.

"The average man," he said, "with his sense of fair play, despises and condemns the man out to catch votes under false pretenses, and he feels that the desire of politicians to get votes in this way is endangering the fundamentals of this great republic.

"As the enemies of the existing order of things group themselves for battle, the average good citizen knows that the elemental principles for which his forebears fought are at stake.

"He demands a strong leadership standing on the Constitution, and moving forward with law and order, common sense and high purpose to combat strong leadership tending toward disintegration.

"He has this in Calvin Coolidge and the platform on which Mr. Coolidge stands. Neither President Coolidge nor his party platform assumes that the Constitution of the United States is an outworn document of old fashioned ideas, to be discarded for the principles of the new Socialism.

"Robert M. La Follette, leading the army of extreme radicalism, has a platform demanding public ownership of railroads and attacking our courts which are a fundamental and constitutional safeguard of American citizenship.

"Our nation is asked to leave important consti-

tutional moorings to embark again into those contests through which it has fought up to the establishment of good government. Through the war of the Revolution, through the Civil War, and through the World War, our people have struggled to establish and maintain our constitutional principles. They are asked to follow into an attack upon them, massed behind an aggressive personality, a heterogeneous collection of those opposing the existing order of things, the greatest section of which, the Socialists, flies the red flag; and into what? Into confusion, and conflict of ideas and ideals, and into the reopening of war upon those fundamental principles of human liberty, and the inalienable rights of men which are giving in this country safety and opportunity to the humblest, and to establish which the blood of our forefathers was shed. This is the predominant issue in this campaign!"

Up in the little white farmhouse at Plymouth Notch, the President and Mrs. Coolidge and Colonel John Coolidge, sat that night before a radio receiver, and listened.

"We have just heard your address with great satisfaction," came a laconic telegram as Dawes was preparing to leave Chicago the next afternoon. "I offer you most hearty congratulations.

Calvin Coolidge."

Then came the Augusta, Maine, speech on Au-

gust 23. The Democratic nominee had spoken the previous day on the Ku Klux Klan, a bogey almost as great as the La Follette issue in both major party camps. Davis had said that the Klan, as an issue, had no proper place in the campaign. Arriving at Brunswick for the motor ride to Augusta, General Dawes was shown a Portland newspaper in which Democratic National Committeeman William R. Pattangall, leading the Maine opposition, dared Dawes to talk on the Klan issue. Dawes not only spoke of the Klan, but dragged in his favorite topic, Socialism and La Follette, and tied them all together. Referring to Governor Jack Walton who had recently been impeached in Oklahoma, he said Walton had removed the president of the State University and placed in that office a young Socialist.

"He then loosed upon the state of Oklahoma a horde of hardened criminals from the penitentiary. Lax law enforcement prevailed in many places of the state.

"If there could be an excuse for law abiding citizens to band themselves together in secret organization for law enforcement, it existed in Oklahoma, and the Klan became a powerful organization.

"What happened then? Back stepped Governor Walton to the American flag—to which, it seems to me, he had not kept very close up to that time—

and called out the militia of the state. Then it was that those who had joined the Klan in the interest of law and order found themselves arrayed against their flag and the laws of Oklahoma. A situation akin to that of the Civil War existed and it was averted only by a few clear-headed men.

"To inject religious and racial issues into politics is contrary to the welfare of all the people, and to the letter and spirit of the Constitution of the United States. Josiah Quincy was right when he said: 'Society is never more certainly in the path of destruction than when it trusts itself to the guidance of secret societies. . . .' Government cannot last if that way [the Klan way] is the right way to enforce the law in this country. . . . Lawlessness cannot be met with lawlessness if civilization is to be maintained."

At that time Maine was one of the two principal Klan-dominated states in the North; Indiana was the other. The organization had some strength all over the nation, particularly in the South. Returning westward from Portland, Dawes was invited by the President to stop off a few hours at Plymouth Notch where, the political writers assumed, Dawes was to be "spanked" by the President for his Klan utterances. Dawes later said that the President did not even mention the Maine speech—that the visit was purely a courtesy call.

At any rate, sitting in a day coach that took the

party from Rutland down to Albany to catch the Twentieth Century Limited for Chicago—there were no parlor cars on that mountain train—he was asked what sort of reaction he expected would follow his Maine speech. Republican politicians all over the country were worried sick about it.

"I was right," he said, "and there can be no reaction to the right that is not the right reaction."

Soon the campaign was on in earnest. Dawes refused to heed the National Committee; he rejected canned speeches provided by it, and rejected the Committee's publicity men and attendants—they were pretty weak, at that. He made up his own party of Evanston and Chicago friends, with Francis Kilkenny as his campaign manager, and composed his one speech. He hammered at that speech day after day, night after night, until the reporters with him mustered up courage to ask if he didn't think he ought to change it a bit. They had been writing the same thing for so long that dispatches with a newsy flavor were becoming difficult.

But Dawes had been looking for a chance to take a side crack at the reporters in fun, and he found it.

"Some of the gentlemen of the press accompanying me," he said in opening his next platform speech, looking down into the orchestra pit where the reporters sat, "have been urging that I change my speech." There was a twinkle in his eyes, for

he knew well enough why the reporters had made that suggestion. "There is one issue in this campaign, and only one. That is whether you stand on the rock of common sense with Calvin Coolidge, or on the sinking sands of Socialism." Again he pounced upon La Follette's plank for review of the courts by Congress. He killed it so dead as an issue that it was only revived by the Radicals when, in 1930, they attempted unsuccessfully in the Senate to thwart President Hoover's nomination of Charles Evans Hughes for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

The reporters let Dawes alone until shortly before the close of the campaign when, going through the Ozarks, there was a stop for a daytime picnic. One of the reporters had worked nearly all night drawing up an indictment in which one Charles Gates Dawes was charged with various high crimes, such as splitting infinitives and abducting politicians—several of them had been compelled to ride clear across their states in order to get a word with Dawes, he avoiding them as though they carried the plague. "The General" was put on trial.

"Am I denied counsel?" he asked.

A hurried, worried consultation convinced the conspirators that nobody would show him mercy, so he was allowed his constitutional right of choice of attorney after a half hour's debate.

Dawes chose the third assistant cook from the railroad dining car who hadn't the slightest idea of what it was all about, least of all the names of the people on the train. The scared colored boy, however, could and did say what he was told to say by his "client," although he stammered horribly in the belief that he was being "trialed" for something. That broke up the trial.

Dawes was acquitted, but he was placed on probation.

That evening when the train was again under way, Walter H. Wilson, Chicago real estate operator, a vice president and director of The Central Trust and an old personal friend of General Dawes, hunted up the dining car boy, explained that since he had served as an attorney he was entitled to his fee, and sent him back to the private car with that argument well memorized. Wilson expected to annoy Dawes—but Dawes gave his "lawyer" a fresh new ten dollar bill. The colored boy, still in a daze the following morning, exhibited the bank note with the uncomprehending explanation that it had been given to him by "Gin'ral George."

The whole campaign of the opposition centered in an attack upon Dawes, the Democrats finding little to say against him, leaving that to the radical Republican followers of La Follette. The latter drove at him savagely, dragging out the Lorimer

bank affair and calling it a scandal, screaming that Dawes was a reactionary, and that his interest would lie with the corporations against the people. Dawes turned that back upon the La Follette orators by a simple utterance from the platform of his private car at Eldon, Iowa. United States Senator Smith Wildman Brookhart, a Republican follower of La Follette, had on the previous day issued a statement, which was published in the morning newspapers, calling upon Dawes to withdraw from the campaign. Smiling down upon the crowd at the railroad station Dawes answered a cry—it was presumably friendly, not heckling—as to what he had to say to Brookhart.

"The voices of the demagogs are like the faint, plaintive cries of the peewit in the wilderness," Dawes grinned. The country laughed at his comparison of the stentorian shouting of the La Follette-Wheeler cohorts to the ineffective chipping of such a tiny bird. No politician can afford to have the "peepul" laughing at him. La Follette was sunk and Brookhart, running for reëlection against Daniel F. Steck, Democrat, had a plurality of only 755 votes. In a subsequent contest brought by Steck, the Senate declared Steck elected. Brookhart did not return to the Senate until two years later, after he had defeated Albert B. Cummins in the primary, retiring one of the greatest statesmen of the Middle West.

Following the Maine speech, Dawes spoke in the University of Nebraska stadium at Lincoln, his voice carried by amplifiers to 30,000 listeners. "The farmer is no radical, he stands for Americanism," he said there, and then sought support for the Republican agricultural plank which, scarcely a year later, in the Senate, he tried so hard to have enacted into law, thereby gaining the President's disfavor.

"We make but one promise—that the Republican party, utilizing the best minds and those by training best fitted for the task, will bend every effort to the study of our agricultural problems, to the end that through legislation, or other means, its solution may be accomplished. Whoever promises more than this is entering into a contract which cannot be filled."

Now the Democratic campaign book was issued. It called Dawes reactionary, enemy of labor, and "friend of big oil interests." The only "oil" connection lay in the fact that two of his brothers, Beman and Henry, headed the Pure Oil Company. . . . The democratic campaigners believed that after the Teapot Dome scandals "oil" would be a damning word to use. It failed to register.

Dawes was a dynamic campaigner, he glared and snarled and shook his fists; fired solid shot. Great crowds came to the railroad stations and to the public halls to hear and see him—and to see if

he actually smoked the pipe that nearly always was displayed in his photographs.

On September 11 he invaded Wisconsin, La Follette's home state, with a speech in Milwaukee, where he said that "La Follette represents the quintessence of demagogism, animated by the vicious purpose of undermining the constitutional foundation of the Republic."

On the following day, the Illinois State Federation of Labor in session at Peoria, dominated by La Follette adherents, adopted the report of a special committee which condemned Dawes as antagonistic to labor and cited the organization of the Minute Men of the Constitution in support of the resolution. Dawes ignored the protest. He attended the national convention of the American Legion at St. Paul and marched in its parade, and on September 19 smoked Governor William H. McMaster, of South Dakota, candidate for the United States Senate, out of his indecision. Dawes spoke at Sioux Falls. McMaster sent word early in the afternoon that he would like to call on Dawes at his hotel room. Dawes would not see him. The whole state knew that McMaster was on the fence, that he would like to endorse La Follette's national candidacy, but was likely to be defeated for the Senate if he did not remain "regular." McMaster wanted to go to the Senate as a Republican, so he appeared on the same platform

Place card at first and only dinner given by "Peewit Number 1" to General Dawes on the eve of his election t Vice Presidency in 1924. Autographed by the Vice Pres and others attending the dinner.

with Dawes that night—where they met for the first time—and the Governor committed himself in a short speech to endorsement of Coolidge and Dawes. McMaster was elected as a Republican, but upon taking his seat the next March he promptly aligned himself with the La Follette bloc, which proceeded, as before, to pull at the halter whenever the Republican majority wanted anything.

The Dawes campaign swept on—Minneapolis and St. Cloud, Minnesota, for set speeches, and eight to twelve short speeches en route—missionary work in the Western agricultural states where La Follette's greatest strength was supposed to lie.

"This is not a political petting party," Dawes shouted at a way station en route to Kansas City. "It is a fight."

From Kansas City he went to Fort Wayne, Indiana, then to Mason City, Iowa, to Casper, Wyoming, and back to Omaha; then to Atchison, Emporia, and Wichita, Kansas, and on to Louisville, Kentucky; Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Newark, and Brooklyn, always with speeches wherever a crowd had gathered to greet the special train on its way—a dozen or more speeches a day, and all on the same subject, La Follette and the Constitution.

"Where do you stand?" he would demand of the station crowds. "With President Coolidge on

the Constitution with the flag, or on the sinking sands of Socialism?"

The campaign was concluded at St. Louis on October 29, at St. Joseph, Missouri, October 31, and a picnic on November 1 at George Ade's farm near Brook, Indiana.

Coolidge and Dawes were elected in a landslide for the regular Republicans. Nervous Republican politicians and many Eastern writers had maintained almost up to etection day, November 4, that La Follette and Wheeler would carry enough Western and Central states to throw the election into Congress, perhaps even snatching a few states in the South. It was conceded by the Middle Western analysts, who had a closer understanding of the "doubtful territory," that La Follette would carry Wisconsin, probably North Dakota and possibly Iowa, and that the Democratic campaign had accomplished no gain. La Follette carried only Wisconsin. Coolidge and Dawes scraped through in North Dakota with 5,053 plurality, Davis running third, as he did in Iowa.

The Republicans won thirty-five of the forty-eight states, a popular plurality of 7,339,019 votes, and, needing 266 votes for the electoral majority, the winning ticket totaled 382 votes in the Electoral College to 136 for Davis and 13 for La Follette.

On the night before the election, the five news-

paper writers who had been with The General throughout his campaign—there had been upwards of twenty-five reporters on his special train at times—gave a dinner at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago in his honor, inviting also the Candidate's friends who had traveled with them. That dinner was the first and, so far, the only meeting of the "Peewit Club, Nest Number One." The place card was a photograph of the Candidate. Upon the mounting was printed the picture of a fantastic bird, supposed to be a Political Peewit, smoking an underslung pipe.

One of the five reporters was E. Ross Bartley, representing the Associated Press, whose White House correspondent he had been in Washington. Following the election Dawes had to make one appointment which, to him, was important. That was choosing a man who would serve as his secretary during the Vice Presidential term. Dawes chose Bartley, born on a farm near Brookston, Indiana, and a graduate of the University of Indiana, and he chose well. This was no ordinary secretarial post, and no ordinary man in public office to serve. The Secretary to the Vice President had to be a man of tact, able to keep his own counsel, have peculiar executive ability and —answering the demand —that was so characteristic of Dawes—be able to handle details without friction.

Bartley, having those qualities, was a valuable asset to the Vice President through four mighty busy years. He is now a stock broker in Chicago, with the Harris-Upham Company.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Vice President of the United States has two jobs. He is an "understudy," ready to succeed to the White House in the event of the President's death or removal, and he is presiding officer over the Senate. He sits on various boards, too; is a Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, and is head caretaker of the Capitol and its grounds, but those additions are merely little things thrown his way to make him feel that he does count, after all. The Senate expects its presiding officer to be a judge, or exalted sort of chairman. He referees the verbal bouts between the members by reminding them, with his gavel, that they are gentlemen. When two or more members leap to their feet at the same instant, bursting with oratory designed to stun the galleries and impress the folks back home with their knowledge of the efficacy of Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound in the treatment of foreign relations, or the utter inability of the Man in the White House to administer a change of tires on the housekeeper's marketing truck, they expect him to decide which thought first of getting up. He must then recognize that member, and return himself to umbilical contemplation during the succeeding hour—or hours—of oratory.

Under ordinary circumstances the Vice President is a philosopher with a nice office abaft the Senate chamber, a two-room suite in the Senate Office building, a limousine with the Federal crest on its doors, and a deep concern over the President's health. He is expected to talk publicly only at the Simpkins' Corners Independence Day Exercises, and then on subjects that would have no greater depth than an analysis of the combination of colors that go to make up the national emblem.

But there came to Washington, in March of 1925, a Vice President who looked at things with a calculating eye. There was a sense of humor in the twinkle of that eye, and a sense of humor is intolerable to some politicians. Here was a Vice President who was feared by certain members of the Senate because he had no illusions about the mental stature of certain types of men who aspired to elective office—and fear engenders dislike. Here was a Vice President not wanted by the Senate and not chosen by the Administration.

What would he do? Would he follow holy precedent and lie down and play dead for four years, thereby getting himself reëlected for another four years? Would he do only what the Senate desired? Would he—uh—by any chance, amplify his ideas about Peewits?

Vice President Elect Charles Gates Dawes said little between the day of his election on November

4, 1924, and the day of his inauguration, March 4, 1925, that would give a clue to what he intended to do. But he thought a lot, and studied Senate rules and precedent. He offered only one suggestion of his course. He would not, he said, sit as an eleventh member of President Coolidge's Cabinet as Coolidge had done when Vice President under Harding.

"Long before I had any thought that I would have an individual interest in the question," he stated in an interview, "I said the plan of having the Vice President sit with the Cabinet was unwise. The Cabinet and those who sit with it always should do so at the discretion and inclination of the President. Our Constitution so intended it. The relationship is confidential and the selection of a confidant belongs to him who would be injured by the abuse of confidence, however unintentional. No precedent should be established which creates a different and arbitrary method of selection. Should I sit in the Cabinet meetings, the precedent might prove injurious to the country.

"With it fixed some future President might face the embarrassing alternative of inviting one whom he regarded as unsuitable into his private conferences, or affronting him in the public eye by denying him what had come to be generally considered his right.

"My friendship and high respect for President Coolidge are such that it would be personally a pleasure to sit in his Cabinet, but I will not do so because, in my judgment, it involves a wrong principle."

Dawes resigned his numerous business and financial directorships, including connection with The Central Trust Company. With his family he went to Washington. The President's Inaugural address, which Mr. Coolidge would read following the Vice President's inauguration, was already in type in the newspaper offices throughout the country, and had been sent as a similarly confidential manuscript to the foreign newspapers. But there was no information about the Vice President's speech.

"There will be no advance copy," Dawes replied to earnest questions. "The speech will be short, and I advise you to hear it. The newspaper men will be given copies of the speech when I begin to speak. I will read it."

The quadrennial American coronation is a simple ceremony, yet it is impressive, dignified. At high noon, on March 4, following a general election, the old government dies. The terms of all the members of the House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate come to a close and the new terms begin at that moment. Pending legislative measures die, too, allowing a dog-in-the-manger

John T. McCutcheon, of The Chicago Tribune, could not believe in 1925 that his old friend Dawes could lie down and play dead for four years. McCutcheon was right.

Senator to "filibuster" by talk against time to defeat the passage of something he deems objectionable. Likewise at that moment, the new President and Vice President come into office. Of course, all this cannot happen at the same instant, but it is simple to move back the hands of a clock.

Into the Senate chamber, its galleries already packed with distinguished persons from all over the country who had been able to obtain tickets, came the members of Congress and the Cabinet in formal day attire; the Supreme Court justices in their black robes; commanders of the American armed forces; the representatives of the foreign nations in their daytime court uniforms, resplendent with gold cord, epaulets, ribbons and decorations. A hush fell over the chamber. The President entered, to sit directly facing the Vice President's chair. Cool, impassive, collected, Coolidge sat there as Dawes was conducted by a committee of the Congress to the chair he would grace for four years.

Twice the hands of the clock had been moved back as the Senate chamber filled. But at last a moment before high-noon—by the Senate's clock—the Vice President Elect was given the oath of office by the venerable President Pro Tempore, Senator Albert Cummins of Iowa. There followed a nervous movement of suspense about the chamber as Dawes stepped forward to speak.

"What I say on entering this office," he began in a nervous, high-pitched voice, "should relate to its administration and the conditions under which it is administered. Unlike the vast majority of deliberative and legislative bodies, the Senate does not elect its presiding officer. He is designated for his duty by the constitution of the United States."*

Some of the Senators squirmed. This Vice President did not consider himself answerable to them; he was responsible to the people who had elected him!

" . . . It is not for the Vice President to be personally concerned with the interests of political parties or with the policies or projects involved in legislative action, save in that unusual contingency where, under the Constitution, it becomes necessary for him to cast the deciding vote in case of a tie."

That contingency would arise earlier than he expected!

" . . . The Vice President, in part because he is not elected by the members of this body, nor by a state, but by the people of the United States, and his Constitutional and official relations are to the Senate as a whole, should always express himself on the relations of its methods of transacting public business to the welfare of the nation. For him,

(*) See Appendix for full text of inaugural address.

therefore, to officially call to the attention of the Senate any collective duty such as an improvement under which its business is carried on, so far from being an irrelevant and uncalled for action on his part, is a supreme duty."

Now the speaker was well into his subject. He had forgotten his nervousness. Again he was the crusader calling attention of the people before him, and the millions who would read his short speech, to what he believed a wrong. His voice rose to a higher pitch. It rasped, it snapped out the words that were bitten off short. He pumped his arms in emphasis, and he shook his finger at the packed Senate seats. He recalled that customs of the Senate had become fixed and written rules of procedure, which placed power in the hands of individuals, "at times subversive to the fundamental principles of freer representative government. . . . However natural has been the evolution of the present rules, however commendable that existing desire on the part of all that the rights of each individual Senator should be observed, the fact remains that under them the rights of the nation and of the American people have been overlooked—and this, notwithstanding that their full recognition of the rights of the nation are in no wise inconsistent with the recognition of every essential right of any individual Senator.

"What would be the attitude of the American

people and of the individual Senators themselves toward a proposed system of rules if this was the first session of the Senate of the United States instead of the sixty-ninth?

"What individual Senator would then have the audacity to propose the adoption of the present Rule Twenty-Two without modification when it would be pointed out that during the last days of the session the right that is granted every Senator to be heard for one hour after two thirds of the Senate had agreed to bring a measure to a vote, gave a minority of even one Senator at times power to defeat the measure and render impotent the Senate itself?

"That rule, which at times enables Senators to consume in oratory those last precious moments of a session needed for momentous decisions, places in the hand of one or of a minority of Senators, a greater power than the veto power exercised under the Constitution by the President of the United States, which is limited in its effectiveness by the necessity of an affirmative two-thirds vote.

"Who would dare," the speaker rose to the climax of his eighteen minute address, and brandished his arms, glaring at the Senators as though they alone sat there before him, "to contend that under the spirit of democratic government the power to kill legislation providing the revenues to pay the expenses of government should, during

the last few days of a session, ever be in the hands of a minority or perhaps one Senator?

"Why should they ever be able to compel the President of the United States to call a special session of Congress to keep in functioning activity the machinery of the government itself? Who would dare oppose any changes in the rules . . . . ? Who would dare maintain that in the last analysis the right of the Senate itself to act should ever be subordinated to the right of one Senator to make a speech? . . . Under the inexorable laws of human nature and human reaction, this system of rules, if unchanged, cannot but lessen the effectiveness, prestige, and dignity of the United States Senate. . . . Reform in the present rules of the Senate is demanded not only by American public opinion, but, I venture to say, in the individual consciences of a majority of the members of the Senate itself. . . . To evade an issue between right and wrong methods is in itself a wrong. To the performance of this duty—a duty which is nonpartisan—a duty which is nonsectional—a duty which is alone in the interest of the nation we have sworn to faithfully serve—I ask the consideration of the Senate, appealing to the conscience and to the patriotism of the individual members."

If Dawes had expected that speech to drop like the gentle rain from Heaven upon the place beneath without a sudden freeze he was mistaken.

He had placed his finger upon a tender spot. He had pressed rather hard and he had been emphatic in telling the Senators it was their duty to change their rules to dampen filibustering and time-wasting, but cool analysis of the printed words will bring a different reaction to the reader than the words as uttered by Dawes. It was not so much what he said that annoyed, as the way in which he said it. The Senators gasped. The President's face was impassive, but his lips curved downward. The members of the House were frankly amused, for they have had a form of closure for many years.

The new members of the Senate were now to be given the oath of office and they were to place their signatures upon the roll. Ordinarily the new members would come to the rostrum in groups of four. Two such groups, solemnly formal, the new Vice President endured. Then in a tone of impatience he called out the remaining twenty-four and their sponsoring colleagues.

"Bring them all up," he cried. "This is too slow. Bring them on together!"

Smasher of precedent he was indeed!

Impetuous his action seemed, a stunt, a "typical Dawes deed."

"Reform . . . is demanded . . . by American public opinion," he had said. There was no concerted public opinion on the subject of filibustering.

Very few ordinary American citizens had ever given it a thought. But Dawes had given it to them to think about, he had called the nation's attention to what had become an annoyance to Administration majorities and which was to become an even greater annoyance, and he had carefully thought it through in advance. To his mind, the lack of workable closure in the Senate was an evil which should be corrected at once.

Rule Twenty-Two which he had assailed had been amended on March 8, 1917, in order to permit the majority of the Senate to function in war legislation, which every sane member knew was inevitable, against the La Follette bloc. But it did not provide the majority closure that Dawes believed a Senate majority should be able to exercise.

"If at any time a motion, signed by sixteen Senators," reads that amendment, which is still in effect, "to bring to a close the debate upon any pending measure is presented to the Senate, the presiding officer shall at once state the motion to the Senate, and one hour after the Senate meets on the following day but one, he shall lay the motion before the Senate and direct that the Secretary call the roll, and, upon the ascertainment that a quorum is present, the presiding officer shall, without debate, submit to the Senate by an aye-and-nay vote the question:

"'Is it the sense of the Senate that the debate shall be brought to a close?'

"And if that question shall be decided in the affirmative by a two-thirds vote of those voting, then said measure shall be the unfinished business to the exclusion of all other business until disposed of.

"Thereafter no Senator shall be entitled to speak in all more than one hour on the pending measure, the amendments thereto, and motions affecting the same, and it shall be the duty of the presiding officer to keep the time of each Senator who speaks. Except by unanimous consent, no amendment shall be in order after the vote to bring the debate to a close, unless the same has been presented and read prior to that time. No dilatory motion, or dilatory amendment, or amendment not germane, shall be in order. Points of order, including questions of relevancy, and appeals from the decision of the presiding officer, shall be decided without debate."

The major objection Dawes held to that amended rule was that it permitted closure only after two-thirds of the Senate had concurred, instead of a majority concurring.

Even after a two-thirds concurrence there could be ninety-six hours of oratory, with each member being permitted an hour.

Wrath descended upon the new Vice President.

Some analysts maintain that the Dawes outburst, making out-of-the-ordinary news and thus commanding the major page-one headlines of nearly every American newspaper, sublimating the President's inauguration which followed immediately upon the Dawes speech, won the President's undying disfavor. It was Coolidge's only inauguration, and the Vice President had commanded the publicity!

The Senate was immediately divided. Even as Coolidge was being inaugurated smart reporters sought out members of the Senate for their opinions of the Vice President's speech.

"His melody of voice, grace of gesture and majesty of presence were only excelled by his modesty," said James A. Reed, Democrat of Missouri, one of the most sarcastic men ever to sit in that chamber.

"Dawes showed as little knowledge of the Senate's rules as he did good taste—not quite as little, but nearly," was the comment of the minority leader, Joseph Taylor Robinson, of Arkansas.

"It was exactly what should not have been said," was the quotation from Thaddeus H. Caraway, the bitter tongued Democratic junior member from Arkansas.

"It was the most acrobatic, gymnastic speech ever delivered from that rostrum," said Henry Fountain Ashurst, Democrat, of Arizona. Ashurst

later said that he favored rules reform, but that his criticism referred to the irregularity of swearing in the new members.

"I have an opinion of the spectacle but do not care to express it," commented the weary-eyed senior Republican member from Nebraska, George W. Norris, one of the leaders of the La Follette bloc.

"I regret that such occasion was perverted into a farce," was all Claude Augustus Swanson, senior member from Virginia, a Democrat, would say.

But Dawes had his supporters, too. Oscar W. Underwood, Democrat of Alabama, one of the ablest men ever sent to Capitol Hill, even then suffering from the heart ailment which killed him two years later, was ardently in favor of majority closure. He immediately introduced a resolution to that effect. William Cabell Bruce, Maryland Democrat, expressed himself as entirely in sympathy. Charles Curtis, the majority leader and the man who succeeded Dawes as Vice President four years later, remained discreetly silent.

Following the inaugural ceremonies, and the parade which he and Mrs. Dawes reviewed with the President and Mrs. Coolidge from the enclosed White House stand, Dawes returned to his hotel room and had his customary afternoon nap. Arising he found a group of friends and newspaper reporters waiting for him.

"I have had my say," was all the reporters could get out of him in response to the columns of Senatorial sarcasm in the Washington afternoon newspapers. "Let them have theirs."

Senator Frank B. Willis, Ohio Republican, was standing there in a group of Ohio American Legion members.

"Of course, what you Senators think does not make any real difference," he shot at Willis. "I am going over the heads of the Senators anyway on the issue of changing the rules. This thing is important and I am absolutely right. Unless this issue goes to the people the fundamental institutions of the country will suffer."

Whatever view the President held of the demand for closure, and he kept it to himself, the Vice President was striking at a legislative condition which promised embarrassment to the White House, and which did develcp a lot of it. Theoretically, the Republican party had a majority in the Senate, but it was a slim one. With ninety-six members, forty-nine would constitute a working majority. The roll showed a party division of fifty-six Republicans, thirty-nine Democrats and one Farmer-Laborite. Nine of those designating themselves as Republican could not be depended upon to vote with the majority. As a matter of fact, these "insurgents" frequently voted against the Administration and with the

Democrats, which transferred nine votes from the Republican list, for a total of forty-eight opposition votes, and these, with the lone Farmer-Labor Senator, Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, created the unusual situation whereby the political minority frequently could muster forty-nine votes, or a bare majority of the full membership. If every point at issue had been decided strictly on that division, the Administration would have won nothing, but occasionally a Democrat—Bruce, or Coleman E. Blease, of South Carolina, who frequently disregarded party lines in their voting—would slip over to the Administration way of looking at things, and some of the stubborn Republicans at times would stay put.

The nine of what was called the La Follette insurgent bloc, included Hiram Johnson, California; William E. Borah, Idaho, who followed his conscience more than party lines; William H. McMaster, South Dakota; George Norris, Nebraska; James Couzens, Michigan, who had made thirty million dollars out of his original faith in Henry Ford as an automobile manufacturer and was "agin' the Administration" because of his quarrel over income tax exemptions with Andrew W. Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury, but who did not always oppose the White House; Edwin F. Ladd, North Dakota, who died during the summer of 1925 and was succeeded by Gerald

P. Nye; Lynn Frazier, also of North Dakota; Robert M. La Follette, Wisconsin, and Smith Wildman Brookhart of Iowa.

Oratorical reprisals from the floor of the Senate were expected and the galleries were packed daily during the short special Senate session of the sixty-ninth Congress which the President had called for ratification of his new appointees. There were reprisals, but they were mostly humorous. Byron Patton Harrison, the Mississippi Senator who prefers to use the simple cognomen of Pat; Senator Reed, of Missouri, and others poked fun at Dawes, who sat like a sphinx in the chair and listened.

All of the President's appointments were ratified, with the exception of that of Charles Beecher Warren, of Michigan, to be Attorney General. Thomas J. Walsh, Montana Democrat, who had unearthed the scandal of Teapot Dome, savagely assailed Warren as attorney for the "Sugar Trust," and he was ably assisted by Reed, of Missouri, who demanded to know how an attorney for the Sugar Trust could, as Attorney General, prosecute cases arising under the Sherman Anti-Trust act. Wearily Dawes sat through day after day of argument. On the afternoon of March 9 he asked Senators Curtis and Robinson, majority and minority leaders, if there would be a vote that day on the Warren nomination. He was assured that a vote would not come that day.

And so the Vice President went to his room in the New Willard hotel for a nap.

While he peacefully slept, things began to happen in the Senate. Under the savage assault by Walsh and James A. Reed the votes that Curtis had depended upon for ratification began to slip away from him. Rather than wait another day, when defeat would be impossible to avoid, Curtis called for a roll call on the motion to confirm.

As the roll call progressed Curtis realized it was going to be a tight squeeze. So did E. Ross Bartley, the Vice President's secretary. He ran to a telephone and called Dawes, who made a mad dash up Pennsylvania avenue in a taxicab.

Before Dawes arrived at the Senate chamber the result of the roll call was announced. It was forty to forty—a tie. Absentees and pairings accounted for sixteen who were not voting. Had Dawes been in the chair he could have voted in the affirmative, for only in case of a tie would the Vice President have a vote, and Warren would have been confirmed. Frantic maneuvers were made. David A. Reed, of Pennsylvania, a staunch Administration Republican, who had voted to confirm, knowing Dawes was en route to the Capitol, announced that he desired to change his vote. Under the rules of parliamentary practice this permitted him to make a motion for reconsideration. He offered the motion.

Whereupon Walsh of Montana displayed his strategic brilliance with a motion to table David Reed's resolution. At this moment the Vice President entered the chamber, but he was too late. The venerable Democrat, Lee S. Overman of North Carolina, took the floor.

"I am convinced that this side of the house does not want this man for Attorney General," Overman stated. "I therefore change my vote."

His previous vote had been for confirmation, the only Democratic vote that way. The tally was 41 for, to 39 against, confirmation. Voting against Warren were all the Democrats in the chamber, plus Borah, Couzens, Johnson, McMaster, Peter Norbeck of South Dakota, Norris, Brookhart, Frazier, Ladd and Shipstead.

Although the President never said a word about the incident for publication, it was reported in Washington that he held Dawes responsible for Warren's rejection. Dawes remained silent through the storm of ridicule and criticism that now descended upon him. In view of the rumors of reprisals that had swept over Washington, many persons contended that the Senate had conspired to catch Dawes napping. That idea scarcely holds water for it is unlikely that Curtis, the majority leader, would have engineered the affair just to punish Dawes when so much was at stake. Curtis was above all Administration Senate Leader.

The President resubmitted Warren's name six days later but was defeated again, this time by a vote of forty-six to thirty-nine. John Garibaldi Sargent, old Vermont friend and neighbor of the President, was the eventual appointee.

The culmination of the Senate's horseplay with Dawes was the reading from the floor by Senator Norris of a parody on *Sheridan's Ride,* in which he depicted Dawes ten blocks away, two blocks away, and finally in the Senate chamber. The last stanza read in this manner.

> "Hurrah, hurrah for Dawes!
> Hurrah, hurrah for this high minded man!
> And when his statue is placed on high,
> Under the dome of the Capitol sky,
> The great Senatorial temple of fame,
> There with the glorious General's name,
> Be it said, in letters both bold and bright:
> O, Hell an' Maria, he has lost us the fight!"

Dawes sat in the presiding officer's chair and grinned. For the first time he recognized his critics. At the conclusion of Norris' masterpiece he said: "The chair cannot refrain from expressing his appreciation of the delicate tribute of the Senator from Nebraska."

The last laugh was on Norris.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Having had his say about the Senate's rules, the Vice President could make no more orations about the subject in the Senate chamber. Thereafter, until he would deliver his valedictory and welcome his successor, he would be confined within those historic walls to such words as might be necessary in regulating debate. However, there was nothing in the rules about carrying the campaign to the people.

The short special session of the Senate was adjourned on March 19, to resume for business on December 1. Before leaving Washington Dawes sauntered around bidding farewell to his friends. Eventually he reached the State, War and Navy building where, after a call on General Pershing, who had been retired, but was still holding a semi-official connection with the War department, he went into Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg's office. As he started for the swinging door leading into the State department, a little old negro hobbled across the hall and pushed open the door.

"Why, General Dawes" the little fellow cried.

"Well—hello, Eddie," Dawes gripped the man's hand which was brought down from a solemn military salute.

An attaché of the State department who had seen the greeting whispered in The General's ear. Eddie was due to be retired very shortly unless his time was extended by the new Secretary of State. Would The General whisper in the Secretary's ear? Eddie Savoy, born in slavery, had been a door man and messenger just outside the Secretary's office for fifty years. Already his retirement had been extended twice. One of his duties had been handing passports to diplomats who were no longer *persona grata* in the United States. Everybody in Washington knew Eddie. The Spanish Ambassador received his papers from him in 1898. So did Dr. Dumba, the Austrian representative, and Count Von Bernstorff, German Ambassador, in 1917.

Dawes said not a word, but as this book goes to press, Eddie is still smiling and greeting callers at the office of the Secretary of State.

In the charge of San Juan Hill in the Spanish American War a young soldier was struck on the upper lip by a shrapnel fragment. It left a scar and the man was quite sensitive about the disfigurement. Upon returning to civilian life he was given a clerical job in one of the department buildings, but his sensitiveness about the scarred lip got him into trouble. Along the halls of those Washington government buildings sit colored men at little desks outside important offices—like so many

owls on a limb. The wounded man fancied one day that one of these messengers was smiling at his cut lip. He promptly thrashed the smiler—and was suspended for it. Comptroller of the Currency Dawes heard about it, patched up the injured feelings of the whipped man, and had the veteran reinstated. Peace was maintained until a new crop of messengers began to appear and one day the veteran fancied he was being smiled at again. So he licked another messenger and lost his job once more. Director of the Budget Dawes heard about it, patched up the whipped man's feelings, and had the scrapper reinstated.

As Vice President Dawes was going through the corridors of the building on the day of adjournment of the Senate an old friend came up to him.

"Remember Corporal Blank?" the man asked Dawes.

"Yes. How's he getting on?"

"Oh, fine. He's married and has two children. Getting along nicely but—uh—he thought somebody was smiling at his lip last week and—same old thing."

"Huh!" Dawes grunted, with no further comment. But at last reports the veteran was going about his duties and he probably will continue to do so until another new crop of messengers unable to control their risibles comes along.

After resting for a month at home, playing ball

on his lawn with neighbor boys, joining the Forty-and-Eight, honorary society of the American Legion, and speaking before a club or two, Dawes went to Boston to share honors with General Pershing at the 150th anniversary of the ride of Paul Revere and William Dawes. An impromptu invitation to attend a luncheon of the Boston Chamber of Commerce gave him an opportunity to make his first speech in support of his drive for rules reform. Among the guests at the speakers' table was Senator William M. Butler, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who had been appointed to serve out the term of the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and when Dawes was called on for a speech, he could not resist hammering upon his favorite topic.

After outlining his position in regard to majority closure, he smiled at his audience.

"The reason I am going to talk on Senate rules is because Senator Butler is here," he said. "I appeal to you, his constituents, to express your attitude on reform of the Senate rules. That reform concerns principles for which your forbears fought 150 years ago. If you are for it, stand up and say so."

His words were greeted by a yell, and 1,000 men leaped to their feet. The congenitally silent Mr. Butler had been smoked out.

"I do believe in the reform of the Senate rules,"

Senator Butler said when called by the chairman. "I do not detract one iota from the great work the Vice President has done in bringing this reform before the people when I say that I, myself, learned when I entered the Senate last December that under the Senate rules and the doctrine of seniority it makes no difference whence a man comes or what his achievements are. The Vice President has pointed the way. I believe in change. I believe in improvement. I propose to devote time in the Senate to accomplishment of those ends."

The Sesquicentennial celebration of the Dawes-Revere ride on April 19, 1925, was started in a driving sleet storm as cannon at Lexington and Concord common fired sunrise salutes of 150 rounds, while church bells, many of which were there in 1775, pealed from a hundred places of worship. There were celebrations at every village center between Boston, and Lexington and Concord, speakings, and tableaus in schools and churches, from dawn until after dusk. Two militiamen in the garb of colonial days reënacted the horseback rides of Revere and William Dawes, while the distinguished guests rode in motor cars.

The principal speech-making event of the day was held in Faneuil Hall, with the Vice President, the General, the Mayor of Boston, the Governor of Massachusetts, a poet laureate and various city

and state dignitaries on the platform. In the middle of the program the Mayor called the name of Scout James Thomas Smith, and a skinny lad, in a brand new khaki Boy Scout uniform, his face covered liberally with freckles, a sturdy chin sticking straight out, marched up to the platform from the audience. As the boy came to the center of the stage, standing directly in front of the Vice President, the General of the Armies of the United States, in full uniform, his many decorations and campaign ribbons on the breast of his coat and four silver stars shining on each shoulder, stood and smiled at the boy, holding a bit of paper in his hand.

Jimmy Smith may have been scared stiff, what with all this fuss, but he brought his hand up stiffly in the Boy Scout salute, thumb and little finger tucked in.

" 'Scout James Thomas Smith,' " Pershing read from a bit of paper, " 'thirteen years old, a member of Troop Fifteen, of East Boston, on February First was coasting on his sled near Boston Harbor when he saw a boy, Herbert Green, sliding on the ice, go under when the ice buckled. All that was visible of Herbert Green was his hands. Running out upon the ice and after a struggle, James Thomas Smith succeeded in saving the drowning boy and, after applying first aid respiration, revived him and carried him home on his sled.'

"James," the tall, dignified soldier smiled again, "to have been born on Christmas and decorated on April 19 in Faneuil Hall, is about as much honor as could come to a boy. I am proud to stand upon this platform, James, and say that after what you have done we know that your character is such that we are sure to hear from you later on in life."

The General of the Armies pinned upon the blouse of Scout Smith a red-ribboned bronze medal, the highest honor that the Boy Scouts of America can bestow for bravery, and as man to man, not man to boy, shook hands. Scout Smith gulped and saluted again, and Pershing returned the salute.

John Pershing, who had decorated men and armies in the world war, turned and looked for a moment at his old friend Dawes. There was a mist in the eyes of both of them.

Two days later Dawes officially opened his appeal to the people of the United States, for support of his reform, before an audience of case-hardened newspaper publishers and their guests at the Associated Press luncheon in New York.

"I am going to get around the country in the next four years," he had told the Boston Chamber of Commerce. "Then I am going to get out of politics. But before I do, my aim will have been accomplished."

He repeated that idea in New York, receiving a lukewarm editorial response later, and then he set out to make good on his direct campaign. In May he spoke at Birmingham, Alabama, where he said that he would make a speech a month and appear in as many states as he could where Senators were to be electetd that fall. Rules reform for majority control was up to the people, he said, and he added the information that he intended to see that the constituencies of rambunctious Senators were aware of this issue he had created. He spoke in Manchester, New Hampshire, in June; in July he carried his message to Denver, and a month later went back to his old town of Lincoln, Nebraska, following a fishing vacation at Wagon Wheel Gap, Colorado, as the guest of Colonel A. E. Humphries. After celebrating his sixtieth birthday quietly in Evanston, he went to the Pacific Coast. On that tour he delivered platform speeches in Seattle, Portland and Los Angeles; reviewed San Francisco's Silver Jubilee Celebration Parade, and made short observation platform talks at Aberdeen, South Dakota; Miles City and Butte, Montana; Spokane and Centralia, Washington; Medford, Grant's Pass and Ashland, Oregon, and at San Bernardino, California. October saw him in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and Atlanta, Georgia. In November he spoke in Indianapolis, Indiana, and Oxford and Cincinnati, Ohio. He

was in Washington again for the opening of Congress on December 1.

Upon returning from his Western tour, the Vice President issued a typewritten statement in Chicago.

"There is no doubt," the statement said, "of the overwhelming sentiment among all classes of people for the reform of the Senate rules. There is no question that the issue is already made in the minds of the people, and they demand that it be fought out. Any attempt in the Senate to pigeonhole or bury it will only increase public resentment.

"Opposition in the Senate to this common sense reform, destroying the power of holdup—that is, the power of the individuals, or minorities, to demand legislative concessions as the price which must be paid by the majority to enable it in the public interest to perform its Constitutional right and duty of legislation—will only increase the popular demand for the reform, and place the Senators who oppose it in the eventual position of fighting it out in their constituencies. There is no mistaking the meaning of the size and spirit of the public meetings which I have addressed on this subject during my Western visit."

He had paid his own expenses as Chairman of the Committee of Experts. Likewise he traveled from March to December to further his rules

reform campaign at his own expense. Naturally, keeping himself in this manner before the public of the country, the wheel horses of both parties were suspicious. The average politician, whether Washington or a backwoods precinct is his stamping ground, always looks for the ulterior motive of anybody who gets out and hustles for something. "Oh, yeah?" they said, and raised their eyebrows when Dawes went to the people with his crusade. "What does he really want, the Presidency?"

Dawes insisted in every one of his speeches that what he wanted was rules reform, and nothing more. Senator George H. Moses of New Hampshire, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, had spoken in Manchester preceding the Dawes visit, saying his objection to majority closure was that it would result only in a multiplicity of laws, that the ability of a bare majority of the Senate to halt filibustering against a measure unwanted by a minority would allow the Senate majority to run hog-wild. To this Dawes responded:

"In the last five Congresses the Senate bills and resolutions passed by the Senate, with ninety-six members, exceeded by 182 the House bills and resolutions passed by the House, with 435 members. The exact figures are 3,113 for the Senate and 2,931 for the House.

"But more significant even than this, as evidence

of the inevitable exactions of selfish human nature when given a chance, is the fact that the Senate passed these 3,113 bills and resolutions out of a total of 29,332 introduced, while the House passed its smaller number of 2,931 out of a total of 82,632 introduced.

"During the last five Congresses, therefore, the Senate passed 10½ per cent of the bills and resolutions introduced in the Senate, while the House of Representatives passed only 3½ per cent of the bills and resolutions introduced in the House. In other words, of bills and resolutions introduced, the Senate, without effective closure, passed in proportion three times as many as did the House of Representatives, with closure.

"There have been vague claims by the opponents of reform in the Senate rules that absence of effective closure tended to prevent multiplicity of laws. My contention is that the figures I have given establish the fact that the absence of effective closure tends to increase the number of laws."

When the politicians began seeking the ulterior motive he made this remark in Seattle on his Pacific Coast tour:

"I was not a candidate for the nomination for Vice President of the United States, and, take it from me, when in connection with the general mass of fog bank arguments that is being put up against the proposition which I am forwarding to the

country at this time, before the only people who have any real influence in ultimately settling it, if you hear that I am running for any office or trying to stay in my present office, or that I am influenced by ulterior motives in doing what is my plain duty as presiding officer of the Senate—you deny it for me."

The new Congress was ten days old when Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi compared the Dawes country-wide speaking tour to Don Quixote's windmill assaults.

"Mr. President," Harrison addressed "The Chair," in which sat the Vice President, "in the conquests by Don Quixote of the windmills . . . there is only one counterpart in the history of the human race. It is to be found in the remarkable crusade by the Vice President. . . . If the delegates to the Republican National Convention had known that you possess all this talent, they would not have had to go first to the Senator from Idaho, Mr. Borah, and then to Illinois, to Mr. Lowden, and keep the wires hot, to find that nobody else would take it, to give the nomination of Vice President to you.

"If the country had known the knowledge this man possesses," Harrison turned to the Senators, "God only knows how big the Republican majority would have been."

He turned again to address the chair directly

and advised the Vice President not to be fooled into believing that the great crowds at his speeches voiced the approval of the American people.

"There was a stubborn old mule down in Mississippi that leaped a fence," Harrison went on, "and carried its yoke to the city. There it pranced about the streets, this poor misguided specimen of a mule, and mistook the derision of the people for applause."

Members of the Senate had the privilege under their rules of saying what they pleased about whom they pleased. A Senator, so addressed, had he felt himself affronted, could have called Harrison to account as a matter of high personal privilege, and demanded an apology, but the Vice President grinned and said nothing. He could say nothing on the Senate floor.

As the new year of 1926 dawned, the Senate was faced with serious business. President Coolidge was demanding tax reduction and ratification of the treaty making the United States a member of the Permanent Court for International Justice (the World Court). Farm Relief was a pressing issue, and the Treasury's agreements for funding the war debts of France, Italy, Great Britain and smaller countries, owing to the United States, likewise were up for ratification.

The debt agreements were ratified with comparatively little fuss—although numerous Sen-

ators had to have their opinions registered—but the debate over entrance into the World Court called forth plenty of acrimonious debate, and American participation came after two-thirds closure was resorted to. Even then the action was taken only after so many reservations were tacked onto the resolution that our participation was nullified. The Farm Relief bill interested Dawes most. He had told his hearers at Lincoln during the 1924 campaign that the Republican party would live up to its pledge for aid to agriculture, and he sought adherence to that program. He entered into correspondence by proxy with Sir Josiah C. Stamp, the British economist and member of the 1924 Experts Commission, on the question of whether an equalization fee of a few cents per unit, assessed on exports of American farm products, operating behind a tariff wall, would not be a possible solution. Chester C. Davis, of Chicago, and George N. Peek, of Moline, Illinois, the two men responsible for the equalization fee idea, its incorporation as a principle in the McNary-Haugen bill, and the agitation for passage of that bill, had outlined their ideas to Dawes during the 1924 campaign.

"It looks all right to me," Dawes told them. "I'd like Sir Josiah Stamp's opinion. Draw up your argument and I will send it to him."

Accordingly, without expressing a personal

opinion one way or another, Dawes was the intermediary between Davis and Peek in the United States, and Sir Josiah, in England.

The equalization fee, as Davis defined it, would be a charge levied upon each unit of a commodity, at a designated stage in its movement in commerce, to absorb the cost of losses involved in the disposition of that commodity. For example, in the marketing of American-grown wheat, it was assumed that, under the direction of a Farm Board, which would be set up by the McNary-Haugen act, flour millers during a certain year would assess a charge against each bushel of wheat milled during that year. The money so obtained would be used to finance storage in the United States, thus reducing marketable stocks and raising the income to the producer; or to ship abroad for disposal at a price below the American tariff-protected price. If, at the end of the given year, a surplus or a deficit obtained in the "protection fund," the fee assessed against each bushel would be lowered or raised accordingly to meet the ensuing year's demands.

The Administration was opposed to this bill, President Coolidge, supposedly backed by Secretary Hoover's opinion, saying that it constituted price fixing. The Administration had its own measure, the Curtis-Crisp bill, which was supposed to have been written by Hoover.

This act would set up a Federal Farm Board

and authorize a loan fund of from $100,000,000 to $400,000,000, which would be used to finance coöperatives at a low rate of interest.

The McNary-Haugenites maintained stoutly that the Federal loan as provided by the Curtis-Crisp measure would be a subsidy to the farmers and, since the basic idea of Farm Relief was to help the farmer get out of debt, a subsidy would only increase the debt of the producers. Dawes was inclined to this view, opposing vigorously anything in the line of a subsidy, insisting that some form of equalization fee assessed against the products of the farm would be fairer to the farmers, and better economics to boot. Dawes never endorsed the McNary-Haugen bill, saying, however, in private conversations, that he would not hesitate to give his entire approval to any measure which, in his opinion, would provide real farm relief. He expressed repeated distaste for the Curtis-Crisp bill.

Because of a speech by Senator James E. Watson, Indiana Republican, one of his best friends in the Senate, and an ardent supporter of the McNary-Haugen bill, Dawes was characterized throughout the country as a direct supporter of that bill. Watson, desiring to make a Senate speech for the equalization fee, obtained from the Vice President a single sheet of typewritten manuscript outlining the fee in principle. In the course of his

speech Watson sent this typewritten sheet to the reading clerk to be read into the Record as a part of his remarks. The paper did not bear the Vice President's name, but as the clerk started to read, Watson blurted this statement:

"This explanation of the equalization fee was prepared by the Vice President, who is a supporter of the McNary-Haugen bill."

The newspaper reporters in the press gallery promptly wrote dispatches saying that Dawes had come definitely into the anti-Administration camp, and quoted Watson for their authority. Having the privilege to correct remarks before they were printed in the Congressional Record, Watson elided the allusion to Dawes from the transcript of his speech, and the Record did not show a Dawes support for the bill. Watson's oral remarks, picked up by the alert ears in the gallery, could not be recalled so easily.

Dawes said nothing about Watson's speech, not even to Watson. He made public the Stamp correspondence as a "contribution to the fund of information sought by the Congress," and, almost daily, drew into his chamber for luncheon conferences the Farm Bloc leaders of both houses of Congress, and the sponsors of the fee bill outside of the legislative status. These luncheons, the Vice President's close relationship with leaders of the opponents of the Curtis-Crisp bill, and Watson's

speech, led to reports in numerous newspapers of a definite break between President Coolidge and Dawes. There was no public break, no public utterances on either side, but Mr. Coolidge was displeased.

An Illinois attorney, calling at the White House at the President's invitation, was asked how politics were shaping in the Middle West.

"Well," the caller replied, "we have three potential Presidential candidates, you know—Mr. Lowden, Big Bill Thompson, and the Vice President. Mr. Dawes seems to have a good many friends among the farmers."

"Yes," the President replied laconically, "I have noticed that the McNary-Haugen people have their headquarters in his chambers."

Neither agricultural bill was passed in 1926 and, after adjournment late in June, Dawes went to the Humphries ranch at Wagon Wheel Gap for fishing, taking with him Ben Ames Williams and Kenneth L. Roberts, novelists and magazine writers, and John T. McCutcheon, Chicago Tribune cartoonist. A hunting trip with General Pershing at the Mark Woods ranch in northwestern Nebraska followed.

Just after the convening of the Congress again in December, announcement was made at Oslo, Norway, that Dawes would share the 1925 Nobel Peace Prize with Sir Austen Chamberlain, British

Foreign minister. Dawes was thus honored in recognition of the work of the Committee of Experts, and Sir Austen for his efforts toward European reconciliation in the Locarno conferences. Immediately upon public announcement of the award, the Vice President's begging mail increased enormously. For years there had been plenty of persons with excellent ideas for relieving him of money. Now, since he was entitled to $15,775 as his share of the Nobel prize, there were still more who had advice. The letters—telegrams, too—that came to his office suggested all sorts of good ideas, mostly personal aid for developing bizarre inventions, lifting mortgages, or financing obscure "movements."

He said nothing for a month and then Owen D. Young, who, among numerous other honorary duties, was chairman of a committee organizing the Walter Hines Page School for International Relations, announced in New York that the American's share of the prize had been contributed to the $1,000,000 endowment fund which was being raised. Rufus C. Dawes and Edward N. Hurley, Chicago members of the endowment campaign committee, had received the check from the Vice President.

Another short session of Congress was under way. It would end on March 4. As the leaders of the two houses took stock after the holiday recess,

they saw trouble ahead. Hiram Johnson wanted a Federal appropriation for the building of Boulder Dam. The farm bloc wanted the McNary-Haugen bill. The Eastern bankers wanted the McFadden Branch-Banking act. Annoyed by the delays in the Senate—which were preventing adoption of appropriation measures, some of which did get caught in the final log jam—Dawes drew a group of Senators into his chamber. There came, wondering, half a dozen members representing Western states, who wanted the McNary-Haugen bill and did not want the McFadden bill; also a like number of Eastern solons who desired the McFadden bill, but regarded the farm bill as so much poison.

"Sit down, gentlemen," Dawes smiled disarmingly. "You fellows," a jerk of his pipe stem at the Westerners, "want farm relief. You fellows," a jerk toward the Easterners, "want branch-banking. Unless you get together neither bill is going to pass in this mess."

A Western Senator, who went into oratorical hysterics on the slightest provocation, arose and started to harangue the party.

"Oh, sit down, Blank," Dawes snapped, calling the Senator's real name. "There may be no closure in the Senate, but, by gosh, there is in this office. Now," as Senator Blank wilted, "I'm not asking you fellows to pass anything, but I do want

to see the business of the Senate expedited. Get your bills onto the right of way and let's try to get some business done in this session."

Both bills were passed. The McFadden bill became law; President Coolidge vetoed the farm bill, as he had promised to do. The Vice President tried his best to get a hearing for Johnson, but failed. The session ended in a more complete mess of filibustering than Dawes could have hoped for in his rosiest dreams as an object lesson of his campaign against minority control. Perfectly innocent appropriation bills suffered; also endorsement for Senator James A. Reed's special committee which had spent the previous year investigating what the Democrats and Progressives considered excessive primary campaign funds spent by Republican Senatorial candidates. Frank L. Smith of Illinois and William S. Vare of Pennsylvania had been caught in that dragnet and their seats denied them, under Reed's prodding. The regulars attempted to choke off Reed, who was making excellent personal capital for his 1928 Democratic Presidential nomination campaign, and it was the regular Republican group that was most guilty in this filibuster.

Following his return in the recess from a recreation trip to Panama, Dawes decided against the Conservatives, who contended the Reed committee died at adjournment, ruling that despite the ad-

journment and lack of appropriation of funds for the Reed committee, the Senate was a continuing body, and therefore its committees or subcommittees were similarly continuing bodies, until discharged. Reed resumed where he had left off but failed to stir up the equal of the previous year's excitement or publicity.

The big political question in 1927 was not whether Jim Reed would dig up any more trouble for the regular Republicans, and thereby get himself nominated by the Democrats in 1928 for President, instead of Governor Alfred Emmanuel Smith of New York. Would Coolidge run for another term? That was the burning question. Friends of his administration pointed out that Coolidge had merely inherited nineteen months of Mr. Harding's term, that he had been elected to only one term, and that therefore, under the unwritten rule established by George Washington in his farewell address, he was morally and legally entitled to another term. The opponents of Mr. Coolidge—who never would have been numerous enough to prevent his renomination and reëlection—asserted loudly that were he to be reëlected in 1928 he would have served, by March 4, 1932, a total of nine years and seven months. That, they cried, would be Imperialism in the Republic, no President having held office for more than eight years.

In respect to all of this Mr. Coolidge did that thing which had made him a great man—he said nothing.

The President departed for Rapid City, South Dakota, for a summer vacation in the Game Lodge of the State park, thirty-two miles from Rapid City, and the Vice President visited the Waite Phillips ranch near Cimarron, New Mexico, and they both went fishing.

Dawes returned to Chicago on July 27 in time to give his opinion about the most weighty problem of state that had come up during the summer. Mr. Coolidge, just learning to fish for trout in the Black Hills streams, innocently confessed that he had hooked some nice ones on common ordinary angleworms. The newspaper reporters who had been assigned to cover the summer White House, gave due circulation to the fact that the President fished for trout with worm bait. Thereupon the Izaak Walton Leaguers, and still more rabid advocates of catching fish on hooks around which had been draped bits of feather instead of worm, had verbal hysterics. The new question of the hour, therefore, was whether a gentleman and a President caught fish with barbed flies or with worms having steel hooks for innards.

A delegation of reporters met Mr. Dawes at the railroad station in Chicago and asked the question, while a nation held its breath.

"We used both," Dawes grinned. "Had good luck, too."

At that the whole Administration might have been pilloried upon the sharp prongs of the fly fishermen, with the worm anglers springing to arms, had not Mr. Coolidge changed the subject. Civil war was averted only by his mild little joke on the newspaper men at Rapid City, a joke which knocked the regular Republicans speechless, and rocked the country.

The Washington White House custom of allowing the reporters for afternoon newspapers to see the President on Tuesdays at noon and the morning men at 4 p.m. on Fridays, had been continued in the temporary White House in the Rapid City High School building. Due to the difference in relative time between Washington and Rapid City the Tuesday date had been moved forward to 10 a.m. The President had talked to the reporters on the morning of Tuesday, August, 2, 1927, and they were planning their afternoon of golf, horseback riding, and lighter diversion, when word came from the High School that the President would see the men again at noon. The reporters were not much concerned about the added invitation. It was assumed that he would have a remark to make about the Geneva Naval Conference, which was approaching its abortive crisis. A few of them remembered that he had taken over the

"We used both worms and flies."

White House on this day, August 2, four years earlier. They all went to the conference, however, with one exception, the exception being a New York reporter who took that means of disciplining the President, for whom he did not care personally.

With the reporters all in the mathematics study room, Everett Sanders, the President's secretary, closed the door—and locked it. The reporters raised bored eyes. Richard Jervis, head of the White House Secret Service detail, stood at the door while two other operatives guarded the windows.

"If you will form a line and pass before my desk," Mr. Coolidge said in calm, carefully clipped words, "I will have something for you."

The line formed and Mr. Coolidge handed to each reporter a slip of paper, three inches wide and eight and one-half inches long. To the unexpecting eyes of the reporters, as the slips were unfolded, there appeared these words:

"I do not choose to run for President in Nineteen Twenty-Eight."

The reporter who was disciplining the President had relented to the extent of tagging along and standing outside the locked door. When the door was opened he was nearly killed in the stampede of the news writers dashing to the telegraph offices, six blocks away, with the only story that had broken on that assignment all summer.

The ink of the bold, black headlines announcing Mr. Coolidge's abdication had scarcely dried when the political pundits began arguing in print as to just what Mr. Coolidge meant by "choose." He meant, said one faction, that he would accept the nomination in 1928, but would not be an active contender. Nothing of the kind, said another group. That statement was just a trial balloon to see what editorial reaction would result. If it was favorable, he'd be a candidate all right. You're all wrong, said still another school of thought. He's through with the White House.

Sponsors for other Republican candidates took it to mean that the race was now open. They had been half-hearted about starting fights before August 2, for, although they talked differently, they had felt in their politically wise hearts that Mr. Coolidge would be renominated and reëlected. The Democrats turned handsprings of joy. Coolidge, as Republican candidate, would snow under any man the Democrats could nominate. But, given a start at scratch, they believed they could accomplish something.

The 1928 Presidential campaign was definitely under way, and with a full head of steam.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Six Presidents had occupied the White House since Dawes had interested himself in politics. He had known them all, two of them intimately. Within the mysterious inner circle he had seen the machinery of government move, and, at one time, had a fairly definite idea that he would like to be President of the United States. Now was his chance. There were "Dawes men" all over the country, men who gladly would have thrown themselves and much of their money into an effort to make him President. He was "made" as far as publicity was concerned; there was no necessity of building him before the people. For better or for worse the American people knew "Charlie" Dawes. He could have for the asking most of the agricultural states; he could have the East, for that mysterious political influence known popularly as "Wall Street" looked favorably upon him —second to Charles Evans Hughes, who, promptly upon mention of his name again as a candidate, definitely withdrew himself from consideration. "Wall Street" was not enthusiastic about Herbert Clark Hoover, Secretary of Commerce in two Administrations, whose campaign burst into full bloom even as the multiplex telegraph machines

were carrying argument between the pundits of the press over the word "choose."

The Democrats had scads of candidates who were hopeful, all of whom realized that, within their own party, they had Governor Al Smith to beat. Through the immediate discussion that raged over the country, the names of three men stood out as probabilities for the Presidency. It was between Al Smith, on the one side, and Hoover and Dawes on the other. Few Republican leaders who knew their business gave serious attention to a new Lowden boom. It now grew out of the swaddling clothes into which it had been bundled six months before, when an agrarian revolt was born in Iowa, with Governor John Hammill announcing in Des Moines that he would support Frank Orren Lowden for the nomination.

Political attention was turned toward Dawes. He made no gesture that could mean he would enter the lists. He said not one word that would show what he was thinking in that respect. He went about his business of the moment, which was to help dedicate the Peace Bridge over the Niagara river between Buffalo and Fort Erie, Ontario. It was a distinguished gathering that saw the white ribbon severed at the international boundary. The Vice President of the United States, Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, who had been Ambassador to the Court of St. James,

and Governor Smith of New York, were the leading Americans. The Prince of Wales, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin of Great Britain, and W. L. Mackenzie King, Premier of Canada, were the British principals.

"The foundation of this great peace structure," the Vice President said in his speech at the ceremonies, "which we dedicate to-day, rests upon the firm bedrock of the Niagara, and the peace of the English speaking peoples is as firmly based upon common instincts and ideals.

"There should not be discouragement at the slow progress of the naval discussions, and the adjournment of the Geneva conference without a solution. That meeting was but an incident in the steady, onward march of the principle agreed upon by the great naval powers at the Washington conference in accordance with which two English speaking peoples pledged themselves to equality in naval strength. . . . It has served to educate all of the peoples as to some of the details of the special necessities of each nation, and gives public opinion the opportunity to bear upon these comparatively minor details which are still the subject of the debate.

"Perhaps before this conference was held there was not the preliminary careful appraisement by each conferee of the necessities of the other—perhaps too exclusive concentration by each conferee

upon the necessities of his own nation resulted in a predetermined ultimatum before a comparison of views—perhaps the public announcement of respective programs early in the conference produced fears of domestic public repercussion if they were reasonably modified, as would be necessary to effect an agreement.

"Experts may be slow in performing their difficult duty of interpreting in terms of respective ship programs the principle of equality between the English speaking nations, but it is unthinkable that Great Britain and the United States, solemnly pledged to the principle of equality, will again place upon their peoples the burden of competitive naval building because temporarily their experts disagree in their practical interpretation of that principle.

"If, in their respective programs, under the principle of equality, the United States requires heavy cruisers, which Great Britain does not need, and Great Britain requires light cruisers, which the United States does not need, there is no excuse for inaugurating a competition under which ships will be built which neither of them need.

"The conference will only result in the stronger demand of the world that the work of interpreting the principle of equality in respective ship progress be continued until a fair agreement is reached."

Once again Charles Dawes had said something definite upon a subject of national or international importance, and there was no small reaction from it. He had the proper audience, and, although the Prince and the Premiers officially did not notice his words, he shot his opinions at it. Students of naval parity said Dawes was attempting to use his direct, red-tape-cutting methods in driving home an insistence upon sound settlement of the armament problem. Politicians in the United States said he was opening his campaign for the Presidency. Official Washington was displeased with his suggestion that perhaps there had not been sufficient preliminary preparation, and that the attitude of the conferees was the wrong one for productive results. Comment of the pro-Coolidge editorial writers was that here was definite and direct criticism by Dawes of the Coolidge Administration, and therefore it was a political declaration of war. Anti-Coolidge newspapers were elated in assuming the same stand. Dawes was the most forehanded of the Republican aspirants, they said. But he did a very un-Republican thing as the Leviathan was preparing to sail from New York harbor on September 10, carrying principal delegates to the Paris convention of the American Legion. Twelve speakers were on the program at a dinner on board the liner, including General Pershing, and Dawes took that occasion to com-

mend the "courage, conviction and action" of President Wilson and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker. Wilson and Baker—Democrats!

A fortnight later he addressed the Sixth National Convention of American War Mothers in Milwaukee, where he said, "You are proving that it is out of human suffering that the highest and most unselfish resolves of humanity come."

Assuredly the Evanston man was a probability, the G. O. P. leaders said. But when Dawes arrived in Washington on November 30, 1927, for the opening of Congress on the following day, he was waylaid by the reporters following his call at the White House.

"I am not a candidate for the Presidency," Dawes told the news men. "I favor the nomination of Frank Lowden, assuming that President Coolidge is not a candidate." Then he changed the subject. The filibuster at the close of the last session, he said, had "resulted in a feeling among the Senators themselves that a change in the rules is not only advisable, but necessary."

Dawes did not obtain a change in the rules. Senator Underwood eventually called up his tabled resolution for majority closure and as he was finishing his argument Senator James A. Reed entered the chamber, bristling and primed for one of the most brilliant-sounding speeches of his public career. Reed effectually killed consideration of the

President Coolidge and Vice President Dawes at The White House. 1927.

Underwood resolution with a withering peroration, condemning majority rule throughout the ages as unjust, overbearing and cruel. Jesus Christ, Reed said in his speech, was crucified by the majority, and an analogy was drawn paralleling the Great Tragedy with the righteousness of the Senate's rules.

However, Dawes had called a nation's attention to the Senate's great weakness and he did win a point, although that session of Congress, with its members itching to get home for the primary campaigns, ended in another filibuster, Hiram Johnson's Boulder Dam bill being the principal cause. The Vice President expedited the routine business of the Senate to a high degree. Before his advent the opening of the Senate's day at noon would usually consume an hour or more of desultory routine ere actual business before the body could be reached. In those "good old days" the reading clerk would sonorously drone through the chronicle of the previous session's proceedings, and all the formality of "consent legislation" would be carried out according to century-old tradition. But as the Presidential election of 1928 and the end of the Dawes reign in the Senate approached, this had been changed, a bit at a time, carefully and slowly, until the presiding officer had obtained swift action in routine.

There would be a sharp tap of the little diabolo

ivory handleless gavel at the stroke of noon, followed by the invocation of the chaplain.

"Reading of the Journal," the Vice President would snap.

"Monday, January 30," the reading clerk, John C. Crockett would begin, cocking an expectant eye toward the majority leader, Senator Curtis.

"Mr. President," Senator Curtis would take his cue, "I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with and that the Journal stand approved."

"Without objection, agreed to." The Vice President would tap again with his gavel.

Before the advent of the Dawes regime it had been customary to give uncontested measures a first reading by title, a second reading for amendment, and a third for engrossment and passage, printed copies of each bill, of course, going to every member, and to the press gallery. Dawes shortened the handling of chicken-feed bills.

"Without objection the measure will be considered as having passed through various parliamentary stages to final passage," the Vice President would say, "and without objection the bill is passed." He would pause for a moment to hear objection and then, bang would go the gavel. The fact that these conserved minutes might be consumed later in the day in long, droning speeches to which nobody listened, is another story.

The "Dawes Boom" limped along throughout that session of the Congress. Party leaders in various states wrote or telegraphed Dawes, or visited him personally, seeking his consent for their proposals to enter his name in their Presidential preference primaries. Knowing their voters they wanted Dawes to head their factional tickets for such aid as that would give to their minor candidates. To all of these he consistently denied assent.

The Lowden campaigners pulled wool over their own eyes. They had this and that state, they said in statements for the press, and, while that and this state would go to the Kansas City convention uninstructed, the delegates would be for Lowden in the show down. Hard-bitten old politicians and brand new ones, who had never worked in a political campaign before, ranged the country for Hoover, who had been looking forward to this opportunity for eight years, and nailed down delegations. They were not fooling themselves. They went about securing convention votes in the same manner that they would have sought orders for carload lots of manufactured goods—with the figurative signature on the dotted line.

Political analysts knew that most delegations which had been instructed for Lowden were actually Dawes votes and would be cast for Dawes in the National Convention if a break from Lowden should come. The big delegations—New

York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts—were sent to Kansas City uninstructed. They held the balance of power. While their leaders did not want to vote for Hoover, and each knew that there was Dawes sentiment in his delegation and little Lowden strength, all were listening for word from the White House. They really wanted to renominate Coolidge, and there are many men today who participated in that campaign who believe Coolidge wanted the convention to "draft" him, making him an "unwilling" candidate.

Dawes went about Washington, and later, Evanston and Chicago, as the pre-convention campaign progressed, looking at his own chances for the nomination in an odd way. He did not want it. He had seen McKinley martyred. Roosevelt had literally fought his way through seven years of the Presidency. The jovial, lovable Taft had chafed under the yoke that he had never wished to carry. Wilson, a victim of his own ego and the fury of the "irreconcilables," had died a broken, old man. Harding had gone through the vilest experience that a man can have, and had died in San Francisco. Coolidge soon would have served a term and a half, bitterly reviled by the opposition because he had the wisdom to keep his mouth shut.

The Presidency was a man-killer. The occupant of the White House was damned if he did and damned if he didn't. It was a thankless task. Yet

Dawes was not fooling himself. Any American, even with his illusions of the greatest office the country can give shattered into bitter reality, would be a fool if he would not accept the nomination. Dawes would like to be President, but, paradoxically, he did not want the job. With that in the back of his mind he studied the campaign as the Kansas City convention date neared, looking upon his own chances abstractly, as an interested spectator.

Years before, he had told his friend Frank Lowden that he would be "for" him if Lowden was ever a candidate for President. He had backed Lowden in 1920, and now Lowden was again a candidate. He had announced his support of Lowden, and he stuck to it. Some of Lowden's friends called on Dawes in Chicago and urged him to go further in his statements when the Lowden drive for delegates was getting nowhere.

"You have said you are not a candidate and that you're for Lowden," they told him. "Issue a statement and say that you will not accept the nomination."

That Dawes would not do, could not do. He said so. A suspicion grew among the Lowden leaders that Dawes was playing a deep game, that he was not giving his full support to Lowden, believing that the nomination would come to himself instead. Dawes said nothing. Would he be a can-

didate for renomination as Vice President? He would not reply to that question beyond reminding the askers that he had said two and three years previously that he would not be a candidate for any office.

Actually he did not want to continue as Vice President, although he would have accepted renomination had it been asked of him by the Presidential nominee.

As the convention opened on June 12 at Kansas City a defensive alliance of the anti-Hoover candidates was effected, with Lowden ostensibly at the head of it, and including Senator James E. Watson of Indiana, Senator Curtis, of Kansas, Senator Guy D. Goff of West Virginia and Senator Norris of Nebraska. The purpose of the alliance was to prevent the nomination of Hoover by holding votes pledged to these, and such uninstructed delegates as could be secured. If that could be accomplished, the men on the fence presumed, it would be devil take the hindmost in the scramble for the final roll call. It was a coalition whose votes would actually be thrown behind Dawes if the opportunity presented itself, and if other minor aspirants could not make the grade.

The Hoover managers asserted that they controlled 707 votes, needing only 545, and issued flat statements to the effect that Hoover would be nominated within three roll calls. The anti-Hoover

group disputed Hoover's claim to 200 of the 707, and contended that it controlled 382 additional, assuring the defeat of Hoover, according to its way of figuring.

And then Everett Sanders, Secretary to the President, went to Kansas City. He saw only a few persons, made no public appearances. The convention turned the resolutions committee minority report for the McNary-Haugen bill down flatter than a pancake. Realizing defeat, Lowden left his delegates high and dry by a surprising withdrawal, saying that the convention had refused to do what he had demanded of it in defense of agriculture, and, therefore, he could not accept the nomination.

Presumably Sanders brought definite word from President Coolidge that the Administration preferred Hoover's nomination, and thereby swung the uninstructed delegates solidly behind the Californian. . . . At any rate, the convention nominated Herbert Clark Hoover on one roll call. Needing 545 votes, he was given 837 to seventy-four for Lowden, sixty-four for Curtis, twenty-four for Norris, forty-five for Watson, seventeen for Coolidge, one for Hughes and eighteen for Goff. Two Missouri delegates, one Illinoisan and one Ohioan voted for Dawes. With the usual formality the nomination was declared unanimous and Curtis, who, two days previously in his own Presidential

nomination campaign had been quoted as asking, "Why should we nominate a man for whom we will have to apologize throughout the campaign?" was made Hoover's running mate.

Three things prevented the nomination of Dawes. One was that he had been Vice President. Another was his personal loyalty to a promise he had made to Lowden; the other was his advocacy of the equalization fee principle in farm relief, and the consequent displeasure of Mr. Coolidge.

A Vice President is always in a more or less helpless position should he have greater political ambitions, by reason of the unwritten law which holds that he shall have no opinions of his own but shall merely be the echo of the President. Dawes had violated this unwritten rule, but in only two minor particulars. He had advocated Senate rules reform, and had sought a form of farm relief opposed to what he called subsidy. It was impossible, as Charles Warren Fairbanks had discovered in 1908, when he wanted to step upward from the Vice Presidency, to go to the country and prove that he had ideas about other subjects of national and international importance.

The party had to make its campaign on the Coolidge record, not on the Dawes record. Dawes had not been in sympathy with the Coolidge Administration on the proposed farm legislation. Hence many politicians who really favored Dawes

could not be with him openly. They would have flocked to him had there been a break away from Coolidge, but nothing of that sort was possible. The Coolidge background was so solid at Kansas City that had one word of assent come from Washington, Coolidge would have been renominated so quickly that the Hooverites, notwithstanding their eight years of labor, and their pledged delegations, would have been *spurlos versenckt.* There were many personal friends of Dawes in the Hoover camp, but they had their own political fences to look after. Consequently, when the wind blew from Washington toward Hoover, the politicians who liked Dawes pushed him ruthlessly aside and swarmed into the Hoover bandwagon. Lowden's last minute withdrawal angered the avowed Lowden followers and the "Dawes men," for it left them stranded, and compelled them to turn immediately, in order to save their own skins, to the strongest man—Hoover.

There is no need to go into the details of the election campaign. Jubilantly the Democrats at Houston, Texas, nominated Governor Smith on one ballot and chose Senator Joseph T. Robinson of Arkansas to be his campaign mate, expecting thereby, in choosing a man from the South, to take the sting out of the selection of Smith—a New Yorker, a Roman Catholic and a Wet—as far as the dry, anti-Tammany and anti-Catholic South-

ern states were concerned. Hoover and Curtis were elected with a plurality of 6,471,473 in a total vote of 36,855,079, totaling 444 electoral votes to eighty-seven for the Democrats—who lost four Southern states that had never been Republican before. There was no third party campaign of any note.

Far from having any animus toward Hoover, Dawes—unlike Lowden, who sulked and would have nothing to do with the Republican campaign—offered his full support to the nominee personally when the latter visited the Dawes home at Evanston, en route to California for the notification ceremony.

Mr. Coolidge went fishing at Superior, Wisconsin. Hoover went fishing in California and Oregon. Dawes went fishing in Colorado and New Mexico, returning to the East in time to make a speech for Hoover in New York just before the election.

The Dawes philosophy had builded him a huge, soft mattress upon which to fall. "I was not a candidate," he said after the nomination at Kansas City, "therefore I have no regrets, no heart burnings." And he meant it.

"Will you support Mr. Hoover?" he was asked.

"Of course!" he glanced at the questioner with a surprised look in his eyes. "The Republican party elected me Vice President. I owe to the

nominee and to the party such aid as it wants. However," a tired grin, "I hope they won't ask too much of me. Mr. Hoover is pretty well able to take care of himself; I have done my share of campaigning and it is hard work. I'd like to rest."

As the Seventieth Congress was going out of existence and the Coolidge-Dawes government was about to be succeeded by the Hoover-Curtis regime, the Senate, which had in the first two years of the Dawes reign reviled and ridiculed its presiding officer, did a surprising and a graceful thing. With party lines and partisan rancor thrust aside, with no necessity to make party capital now, since there would not be a Congressional election until 1930, and no Presidential drive until 1932, the Senate—Democrats and Republicans alike—joined in a brief informal session in which the retiring Vice President was presented with a silver tray as a token of the Senate's esteem for The General and Mrs. Dawes.

Senator Joseph T. Robinson, minority leader, and the defeated Vice Presidential candidate, was the presentation orator.

"During the four years that you have served as Vice President," Senator Robinson, said, "no instance is recalled in which your decision has been reversed on appeal by vote of the Senate. In this respect the record is almost without parallel.

"It must be pleasing to you in this hour to be

assured by one opposed to the political party with which you are affiliated, that only unlimited confidence in your impartiality has made this triumph possible. No more intelligence, however great, if influenced by partisan or personal favoritism, could produce such conclusive evidence of respect and good will. Fairness and promptness have marked your conduct. Firmness and justice have characterized your decisions."

There was no sly jape in this. Robinson meant what he said, every word of it, for, partisan Democrat to a high degree though he always has been, vigorous orator with the failing of losing his temper to an alarming degree in heated debate, Robinson is one of the real statesmen of the Congress.

"To the tribute respecting the standard of your official conduct, another should be added," Senator Robinson said further, "a tribute which cannot fail to inspire in your breast sentiments of pride and gratification. You enjoy the friendship and the affectionate esteem of all with whom you have been associated here—members, officials and employes of the Senate. Clarity of thought, generosity and decisiveness are indeed a fortunate combination of traits which have endeared you to us all."

The inscription on the tray, which preceded the engraved name of every member of the Senate, was as follows:

TO CHARLES GATES DAWES
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
WITH THE AFFECTIONATE ESTEEM OF
HIS ASSOCIATES IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE
MARCH 4, 1929

Dawes made one more speech before he retired —temporarily—from a connection with the United States government. It was again March 4, high noon. He stood where four years earlier, to the minute, he had shocked the Senate with his rasping demand for reform of the Senate's rules. His successor, Curtis, was about to be given the oath of office. For the first time in the history of the new medium of national intelligence, a radio microphone was installed on the Vice President's desk. It carried his words to the throng waiting in the drizzle of rain before the East Portico of the Capitol for President Hoover's inauguration, and to millions of listeners-in throughout the nation.

"In a few minutes," the retiring Vice President said, "it will be my last official duty to adjourn the Senate. The passing of a Congress is but an incident in the life of our great Republic, now entering the 140th year of its existence, never stronger in that which is its greatest bulwark, the love and devotion of a united and happy people.

"But I could not be true to myself and to my

conception of the duty of this position if, as I leave it for the last time, when, if ever, disinterestedness should characterize my convictions, I did not speak again of the collective error of this great and powerful branch of the government.

"Alone of all the deliberative bodies of the world, the Senate of the United States, under its rules, has parted with the power to allot its time to the consideration of the subjects before it in accordance with their relative importance. This defect of procedure is fundamental."

There was a pause, as a ripple of applause started.

"I take back nothing," Dawes shouted.

"To my successor in the office, my dear friend and the dear friend of us all, Senator Curtis, I wish the great success which his fine character, his ability, and his long experience in this body make certain.

"I declare the Senate of the Seventieth Congress adjourned, *sine die.*"

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The United States battleship Utah was steaming steadily northward from Buenos Aires carrying President-Elect Herbert Hoover, his staff and newspaper men. They had concluded their Good Will tour of Central and South America. Edward Price Bell, veteran foreign correspondent of *The Chicago Daily News,* an internationally known writer on foreign relations, was sitting on a wooden hatch cover.

It was a beautiful, sunny day, as Bell later wrote of the incident. The battleship with her crew of 900 men was approaching Hatteras and Hampton Roads. Raising his eyes at the sound of a footstep Bell saw Hoover standing before him. The President Elect sat down beside the writer.

"Bell," he said, "what do you think of the British-American situation?"

"I think it is bad," Bell replied.

"Have you considered at all the problem of making it better?"

Bell explained, according to his account, that he had intended returning to England to inquire into that very subject when assigned to accompany the Good Will party to South America.

"I wish you would carry out that intended mis-

sion," Mr. Hoover said after a moment's reflection.

"Have you some idea of what can be done?" Bell asked.

"No," was the reply. "The task seems to me to be one for a newspaper. The facts are obscure. Sentiment is not what it ought to be. We have the wrong atmosphere. Statesmanship cannot work constructively in such a condition of public opinion. That is the problem—to change public opinion. I think only the press can do it."

The upshot of that conversation was that Bell did return to London, where he interviewed and obtained promises of the leaders of the three British political parties, then entering a general election, that the leader who would become the head of the government would go to Washington for conversations with Mr. Hoover on the subject of naval armament reduction, guaranties of world peace, and British-American parity.

That conversation on board the battleship occurred on January 2, 1929. Mr. Hoover went to Florida following his return to Washington and concluded his study of men for diplomatic and cabinet appointments. Alanson B. Houghton, Ambassador to Great Britain, had resigned. An outstanding American was needed in London, an American who would be acceptable and known to the British, who could be of assistance to his

Prime Minister James Ramsay MacDonald of Great Britain greets the American Ambassador at Lossiemouth.

country in restoring friendly relations between the two nations, and who was in sympathy with the American hope for naval limitation. The Geneva conference of 1927 had failed because of disagreements between the United States and Great Britain and because (as Vice President Dawes had intimated at the Peace Bridge dedication) there was not sufficient preparation. It had been tentatively arranged that another attempt would be made in 1932 to reduce world sea armament and adjust the extremely delicate problem of parity.

Mr. Hoover returned to Washington shortly before March 4, and, even as Dawes was accepting an invitation from Don Horacio Vasquez, President of the Dominican Republic, to form an Economic Commission and go to the West Indian island to study revision of the government's fiscal affairs, he was consulted by the President Elect. The appointment as Ambassador to the Court of St. James was proffered. It was more of a request than a question that Mr. Hoover put to the retiring Vice President.

There was no public announcement of the offer, but it did slip out in press dispatches from Washington after the inauguration, in the form of a rumor that the State Department had asked the British government if Dawes would be acceptable.

Dawes organized his Santo Domingan Commission, and sailed with it from New York on March 28. He drew together old friends whose ability to perform the several tasks assigned to them he knew well. The Commission was charged with studying the little Republic and making recommendations for legislation to the Dominican Congress. Subcommittees were formed on the voyage. In preparation of the laws to govern the budget and executive control of expenditures Dawes himself served, with Brigadier General H. C. Smither, of Lawrenceville, Illinois, vice president of the Indian Refining company, the man who had aided as chief coördinator in making the American budget, and Francis J. Kilkenny. In charge of the accounting act and system of central control of accounting were Henry P. Seidemann, of Washington, head of the Institute of Government Research staff, budgeteer for the Hawaiian territory; and Colonel J. C. Roop, of Chicago, who had worked with Dawes in France, and on the American budget. Sumner Welles, of Washington, former American commissioner to Santo Domingo; T. W. Robinson, senior vice president of the Illinois Steel company, Chicago, and John F. Harris, New York investment banker, looked after reorganization of the governmental departments. Colonel John S. Sewell, of Birmingham, Alabama, former commander of the

17th Railway Engineers, and General James G. Harbord, president of the Radio Corporation of America, handled the redirection of the Ayuntamientos (councils governing the municipalities) and their budgetary relation to the Central government. Harry B. Hurd, a Chicago attorney, and Rufus D. Beach, of Chicago, nephew of General Dawes, constituted the legal committee. E. Ross Bartley, who had been secretary to the Vice President, was secretary of the Commission, and coördinator of the work of the subcommittees.

Three days after the Commission had sailed from New York, Myron T. Herrick, ambassador to France, died in Paris. Immediately the rumor factory was set to grinding again and it was suggested that instead of London, Dawes would be sent to Paris. There was not a word from official Washington on this latest rumor, and Dawes would make no comment at San Juan, Porto Rico, where the commissioners changed boats, or at Santo Domingo City.

The announcement was made informally at Washington on April 9 that Dawes had accepted the appointment to London and that he would go there shortly after he had finished his Caribbean work. Senator Walter E. Edge, New Jersey Republican, was named to succeed Ambassador Herrick, and Dwight W. Morrow, just back from Mexico City, where he was American Ambassa-

dor, was appointed by the Governor of New Jersey to serve the remainder of the Edge term. Morrow did not present his credentials to the Senate. Instead—on a platform advocating modification of the federal Prohibition laws—he entered the New Jersey primary and won the nomination by nearly 300,000 plurality over a "dry" candidate, Franklin Fort.

A month after sailing from New York, Dawes and his commissioners were back home, having finished and presented their report to President Vasquez on April 23. The Dominican Congress followed the suggestions made in the report and reorganization of the government was begun within another month. The report was remarkable in the amount of work it necessitated and the short time in which it was prepared. Recommendations were made for reorganization of the government departments, the budget act was drawn, and so were measures for regulation of accounting, finances, and projected public improvements. Forms were even prepared for the President's proclamation, and a bulletin, to be issued by the Chief Coördinator after the Congress had acted. Economies were outlined, and, so far as possible under the peculiar conditions that surround many Latin American governments, the proposals were followed. Santo Domingo theoretically had a new lease on economic life; but a revolution less

than a year later upset the whole program.

The British press and politicians hailed with favor the appointment of Dawes as Ambassador.

"No successor [to Mr. Houghton] could be more entirely *persona gratissima* than General Dawes," *The London Morning Post* said, editorially. *The Times* said that the appointment was "full of promise for the four years ahead." The British liked him by reputation, and official London, knowing him personally, was as enthusiastic as official Britain can be. Here was an American, they said, who would not be a society Ambassador nor one who would become an imitation Englishman, apologizing for things and people American. The English have little liking for such. The new Ambassador's blunt American way of thinking was made evident when, on a visit to Washington on May 15, he was asked the question that a good many reporters had been itching to ask, but which none who knew The General would put to him.

"Are you going to take your knickers with you?" a brash reporter asked, referring to the usual court dress that is obligatory in official presentations in London—black silk knee breeches.

"Do you want a diplomatic answer, or the kind of an answer that question deserves?" Dawes asked.

"Well—" the reporter hedged.

"You can go plumb to hell. That's my business," Dawes shot back.

"Can we quote you?" was the next question.

"You can if you get it straight," and Dawes relighted his pipe.

He was given the oath of office while on that visit to Washington, but on his return to Chicago he had another little task assigned to him to take care of before he could go to England—the raising of $10,000,000. That money was desired in pledges by the trustees of *A Century of Progress,* to underwrite the projected World Fair to be held in Chicago in 1933, celebrating the city's centennial year. Samuel Insull, director of more than two billion dollars' worth of public utilities, had resigned from the chairmanship of the financial committee for the Fair—of which Rufus C. Dawes is the general director—because his frequent trips abroad did not permit active work in obtaining pledges. Within eight days Charles G. Dawes had the pledges, had made preliminary arrangements for the issuance of *A Century of Progress* bonds, to be secured by 40 cents of every dollar of gate receipts, and was off for London, on June 5.

Because of the role Dawes had played in the Presidential nomination campaign, his endorsement of Lowden and negative opposition to Hoover, there was some surprise among Republicans, particularly those who felt that because of their "regularity" they or some of their like were

more entitled to consideration. The appointment of Dawes to London was characteristic of Hoover. They had known each other since the World War, had been close personal friends with a high degree of mutual respect. Hoover entered the White House with a definite international policy in mind. Because of disagreement between Great Britain and the United States over parity, the Geneva naval conference had been a failure, although some groundwork had been accomplished by the experts. There were other points of conflict between the two English speaking nations and very little plain speaking on either side. Churchill, Chamberlain, Birkenhead and other British spokesmen were lukewarm at best in their friendship for the United States.

There were British newspapers which seized every opportunity to throw ridicule, if not actual insult, across the Atlantic. In the United States there were numerous so-called statesmen who twisted the tail of the British lion on every possible and impossible occasion. There were newspaper editors who frothed with black ink in their Anglo-phobia and went out of their way to insult the Britons. Officially and publicly the British did not understand us nor did we understand them. Of course there were able statesmen on both sides of the Atlantic and newspapers and newspaper men, such as Bell, who had been striving cease-

lessly for better understanding and better relations and a closer friendship, but their voices were not as loud nor as many as the voices of the "demagogs."

Dawes had a well-earned reputation for penetrating what he liked to call "fog banks" of misunderstanding, by direct methods. He was one man in the United States who could go to London and talk "cold turkey" to the British, condemning the "peewits" of both nations. When Hoover asked him in February to consider the post, Dawes saw the possibilities for service—saw, too, the necessity for another of his favorite functions, coördination.

James Ramsay MacDonald, Scotch Socialist, who, with Keir Hardie, had been instrumental some years earlier in rebuilding the Labor party of Great Britain, was called by the King after the general election to organize a new government. It was a minority government that the Laborites formed, for none of the three parties came through the election with a clear majority of seats in Parliament, but MacDonald became Prime Minister because of the large gains the Laborites had made, and with the consent and good will of the Conservatives and Liberals, who, had they formed a coalition, would still not have had a majority.

Dawes lost no time upon arriving in England.

Within eighteen hours his credentials had been presented to King George V. His reception was exceedingly cordial in spite of the fact that the new Ambassador hailed from Chicago where Mayor "Big Bill" Thompson had belligerently and peremptorily ordered this same King to "keep his snoot out" of American affairs. The greeting at Waterloo station was similar to that given other Ambassadors—the same top-hatted officials and mayors in fur cloaks. Dawes was taken to the King's summer residence in an impressive landau, drawn by four bay horses. But no newly arrived Ambassador had ever been given such a warm reception by the English public as Dawes enjoyed. His credentials received personally by the King, Dawes was off on a night train for Lossiemouth, Prime Minister MacDonald's home, in Scotland. There the American advocate of straight thinking and direct talking in international affairs, and the Scotch evangel for world peace and good will, charged their pipes and got down to business. They agreed that there should be reductions in sea armament and that every effort would be made by both governments to bring about an understanding on the vexing problems that would arise, including parity and freedom of the seas. Edward Price Bell's efforts were getting results. He was arousing public opinion and the governments had to recognize it.

Returning to London, Dawes, at a dinner given to him by the Pilgrims' club, composed mainly of Americans, said in a speech, "The importance of an early agreement on naval reduction by nations is of outstanding importance at the present time and it would seem to be the next step to be taken toward world peace."

He explained that the American Congress had authorized the expenditure of $250,000,000 on naval building, giving the President power to suspend it in the event of an international limitation agreement. Then he confined himself largely to a discussion of methods of arriving at that agreement. The problem would be placed in the hands "of the statesman upon whom lies the duty of peace-making, and in these negotiations he must hold the initiative. He is the one to build up the new order and to start the new policy, guided as he goes by the advice of those competent and patriotic naval experts who serve him." He spoke of "statesman" in the singular sense, meaning the leaders of governments concerned.

"A matter of the first importance at the present time is that the friends of world peace move unitedly toward that objective with a clear understanding among themselves that any effort which is not a united effort is liable to be ineffective and tending toward disintegration.

"To avoid confusion and delay that would en-

danger their common objective, they now should not only unitedly consider what steps should be taken toward it, but the order in which these steps should be taken.

"An early agreement as to naval reduction by the nations is of outstanding importance at the present time. It would seem to be the next step to be taken toward world peace. As to any other controverted questions between any nations or between Great Britain and the United States, their future peaceful settlement either way will not be endangered by the cessation of an enormously expensive naval competition in progress during their discussion."

The whole speech was couched in dignified terms, and in plain, vigorous English. The British newspapers printed it in full and accorded it very favorable comment. British public opinion toward the United States began to veer into a less unfriendly vein. Most of the American newspapers likewise contributed happy editorial comments. The world of common people wanted peace—a guaranteed peace. The newspapers of both countries were compelled to recognize that.

At about the same time that Dawes spoke in London, Mr. MacDonald, at Lossiemouth, before his own Highland people, told of the conference he had held with the American Ambassador.

"We met," said the Prime Minister, "inspired

by the hope that we might be instrumental in preparing the board around which other nations might ultimately sit in coöperative fellowship, studying the arts and ways of peace and gaining a sense of security, not by arms, but by the absence of arms. . . ."

An American Ambassador is the representative of the President. A minister represents the nation. Whatever Mr. Dawes said or did in London would reflect directly upon the White House. This situation was looked upon by some of the new Ambassador's American critics as a severe cramping of his style, but they forgot, or did not know, that Charles Dawes was a cultured man, and judged by British interpretation of that word, an aristocrat, who now and then governed himself by what is known in the American Middle West as a habit of doing as one darn pleases. It is a part of Dawes. The English people, knowing both sides of the man, respected the one quality and overlooked the other. Even the ultra-conservative British newspapers were in entire sympathy with his appearance at court in plain evening clothes instead of knee breeches. A special dispensation was made in the matter of dress for him by the British court, but he did not seek it. Why should not the American Ambassador wear the "court dress" of his own country if he desired, the London newspapers said editorially.

At any rate, here was a different Dawes in a constricted circumstance who rose to the occasion. Mr. Hoover's effort toward correction of prejudiced public thought was under way.

Before the end of June, Dawes and MacDonald held a second conversation in London. MacDonald said he was going to Washington and talk to Mr. Hoover if that would be acceptable to the President. Dawes at first opposed the idea as fraught with possibilities of criticism on both sides of the Atlantic, but Bell's articles published in many American newspapers, and interviews which he gave to British newspapers, developed the fact that both countries were favorable to such a direct method of approach to the problem of parity and armament reduction as a personal talk between the heads of the two governments. A third conversation between the Prime Minister and the American Ambassador was held at Lossiemouth and MacDonald left London on September 27 for the United States. Dawes was now in entire accord with the MacDonald visit and when it was concluded he spoke publicly of it as "one of the finest things in modern diplomacy."

The new Prime Minister's visit to the United States was an almost continuous ovation. New York turned out in its usual hysterical way and cheered him and his serious, rosy-cheeked daughter, from the Battery to the City Hall, where

Mayor Jimmy Walker's greeting was given, and on to the Pennsylvania railroad station, where they boarded a train for Washington. The Capital was more restrained when they arrived there early in the afternoon of Friday, October 4, for a week-end as the guests of the President and Mrs. Hoover. The visitors were taken to the President's rest camp on the Rapidan river in the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia, and there, on a Sunday afternoon, the Scotch Presbyterian, Socialist, world-peace evangelist, and the Quaker practical-idealist, sat on a log, smoked their pipes, and discovered that they talked the same language. It was the herald of a new day in diplomacy. Years may pass before Kings and Emperors and Presidents and Prime Ministers of the world will themselves sit down as a matter of practice and talk man to man, but the precedent for such direct action was established as MacDonald and Hoover spent the quiet Sabbath, each in explaining what his people expected of him in international agreements, what each could do, and what each could not do. The sincerity of those two men in their purposes could not be doubted. They wanted with their entire hearts to do away for all time with dangerous competitive building of big navies, to bring about a closer understanding between the two great English-speaking nations, and real friendship.

They agreed that Great Britain would ask representatives of the four other naval powers—the United States, Japan, France and Italy—to a limitation conference to begin January 20, 1930, in London.

"We have frankly reviewed all the questions which might give rise to friction between our peoples," said a joint statement issued in Washington on their return from the Rapidan. "Gratifying progress has been made and conversations are continuing."

On that afternoon MacDonald spoke before both houses of Congress, giving in the Senate chamber a pledge that the British government would accept a limitation agreement establishing complete parity with the United States.

"Parity?" he snapped the word with emphasis. "Take it—without reserve, heaped up and flowing over. That is one of the results of this visit." War between his country and the United States, he said, would be impossible if the two peoples would do their full duty, "in making the peace pact effective."*

MacDonald made a deep impression in the United States—gave the idea that here was a man who would be as steadfast as Robert Bruce, with his back to a rock, in defense of the things the

(*) The Kellogg-Briand Outlawry of War treaty, signed by forty-two nations.

British people desired, but at the same time a man who would fight to the last stubborn drop of Scots blood in him for a thoroughly secured world peace, and for honest, frank relations between John Bull and Cousin Jonathan.

Dawes returned to Chicago late in October to put the finishing touches upon his work for *A Century of Progress* underwriting, announcing that $12,500,000 had been subscribed, of which approximately $6,000,000 would be made immediately available, the money to be acquired by delivery of bonds for this amount and the total when requested as the trustees wanted it for construction of buildings on Chicago's south shore in anticipation of the 1933 opening.

Announcement was made in Washington that the Ambassador would be a member of the American delegation to the London conference, and, after another visit to the White House, General and Mrs. Dawes returned to England on November 16.

President Hoover avoided some of the mistakes of his predecessors in making up the American delegation. President Wilson had attended the Versailles conference personally, and had ignored the Congress in naming negotiators. Mr. Hoover had no thought of attending himself, but he chose Secretary of State Henry Lewis Stimson to be the chairman, having thus the ranking member of his

official family in charge, and two personal representatives, in the persons of Ambassador Dawes and Hugh S. Gibson, Ambassador to Belgium, as liaison. Unique recognition of the upper house of Congress, which, according to the Constitution of the United States, must ratify all treaties with foreign nations, was obtained in the selection of Senators David A. Reed, Pennsylvania Republican, and Joseph T. Robinson, Arkansas Democrat and minority leader. Both were members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Reed was a member of the committee on military affairs, and Robinson was a member of the naval affairs committee. Secretary of the Navy Charles Francis Adams and Dwight W. Morrow were the other American members.

Although each of the nations concerned was represented by delegations of similar size, the group to whom the world looked for authority in the conferences that began on January 21, 1930, known as the "Big Five," was composed of Mr. Stimson; Prime Minister MacDonald, of Great Britain; Premier Andre Tardieu, of France; Reijiro Wakatsuki, of Japan's House of Peers, and Italy's foreign minister, Dino Grandi.

For three months, almost to the day, the five nations moved their pieces on the international chess board. Opposition by powerful American newspapers to what appeared to them to be a los-

ing conference on America's part, criticism in varying degree in other countries, the minor inescapable intrigues that were designed to set one group against another to the benefit of the intriguers, and an apparent impasse created by differences of opinion between the French and Italians, caused at times a gloomy atmosphere to lie over the entire conference like a pea soup London fog. But out of "The London Conference of 1930" came a definite three-power treaty between the United States, Great Britain and Japan, and a tentative agreement between the Latins, which the optimistic hoped would eventually lead to a full five-power pact.

Primarily, the Britain of Ramsay MacDonald and the United States of Hoover wanted parity on the sea and a better basis of understanding between the nations. Japan wanted exactly the same thing. In the words of Edward Price Bell, speaking over the radio upon his return to Chicago after the conference, there can be no doubt of the success of the conference, even if the United States did not get entirely what it went after.

"At the Washington conference," Mr. Bell said, "of 1921-22, a ten year holiday in battleship construction had been declared. That holiday was nearing an end. Unless something could be done promptly to prevent it, large programs of battleship replacement would fall upon the shoulders

of the taxpayers of the maritime countries, particularly Britain, Japan and the United States. ...We had three of these expensive vessels that we were virtually ready to scrap, but we could not scrap them in the absence of an agreement by which Britain would scrap five and Japan one. In the six years following the naval holiday we were faced with the necessity of laying down eight new monsters of the sea at a cost of $400,000,000. In the six years after that seven more capital ships at a cost of $350,000,000, or three quarters of a billion in all . . . .

"We got a better international understanding—that firmer groundwork of peace—as among the great nations, one oriental, two occidental, who in their joint grasp hold the trident of the mightiest salt waters of the globe, the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. Britain, Japan and America to some extent reduced, and definitely limited for a period of six years, every category of fighting craft under their respective flags.

"That alone was the greatest achievement of its kind in the history of the armaments of the sea. But it was not all, not financially the main thing that we got in London. We also arranged for the scrapping of those nine battleships equal, considered as a whole, to the entire battleship fleet of the third largest naval power in the world, Japan. And we got rid of the battleship replacements,

too—a total of twenty-six of that fortress of the sea. We made that gigantic saving. . . ."

The conference virtually doomed the first class battleship, despite opposition by many experts of both British and American navies. The substitute is the lighter and faster cruiser, and upon that arm of the navy was concentrated the attention of the United States, Britain and Japan.

As to cruisers the United States was allowed eighteen of 10,000 tons, a total of 180,000 tons, Britain was allowed fifteen with a total tonnage of 148,000, and Japan was permitted twelve with an aggregate of 108,400 tons. The superiority of the United States in large cruisers, amounting to 32,000 tons, was to be offset by a British superiority of 48,700 tons in small cruisers. The net British advantage in cruisers of all types allowable was 16,700 tons, but the United States retained more large ships and the right to change its mind and duplicate the British cruiser strength. Britain and the United States allowed themselves 150,000 tons each in destroyers; Japan, 100,450.

A safety valve, designed to satisfy the opposition in the United States Senate, which ratified America's participation in the pact by a vote of 58 to 9, provided that if any one of the three powers feels its security is jeopardized by new building on the part of France or Italy or both it may notify the other two powers of the increase it re-

quires for its own safety. The other two powers in that event may make proportionate increases in their own programs if they so desire.

Decidedly the conference which ended on April 22, in the red and gold room of St. James' Palace, had produced results. The complete story of that attempt to limit the war-making equipment of the nations of the world, and what the United States Senate Minority said and did when it met in special session late in 1930 for ratification, must be left to other historians now. The Conference had sought to guarantee peace. The Ambassador had sought, and he continued to seek, better relations and better understanding between the common people of the two English-speaking nations.

Throughout the conference in London, Ambassador Dawes held aloof. He attended the plenary sessions but said nothing publicly and did not enter into the private discussions between delegates. Much of the real work of the conference was accomplished in those meetings when the delegates dismissed the traditional language of diplomacy and talked what is known in the United States as "cold turkey." The only comment that Dawes made for publication—and he did not expect that to get into the dispatches—came when he was returning to the American delegation's headquarters and one of the reporters noticed he was limping.

"What have you done to your leg?" Dawes was asked.

The Ambassador regarded the questioner gravely for a moment, then replied, "Diplomacy is not too hard on the brain, but it's hell on the feet."

In the United States there was some disappointment among those who had come to expect vigorous denunciation by Dawes of "peewits" in public life when vague reports began to appear in the newspapers of pettifogging among some of the delegates. There was not a word of quotation from Dawes. Whatever opinion he may have developed of the small-minded ones there, he kept religiously to himself, at least so far as public utterance was concerned. There were several reasons why he could not give out interviews or make speeches about "peewits" and "fog banks." In the first place, the American delegation was doing a pretty good job of saying what was necessary for news dispatches, and it was the Ambassador's place to observe rather than criticise publicly. He had done his work in preparing the way for the conference and it was not essential for him to say anything now.

Even before the conference was concluded a situation which annoys every American Ambassador to the Court of St. James was coming to his attention. As the season for presentation at court to the King and Queen approached, letters and

cablegrams began to be showered upon the American Embassy. Political and personal influence was brought to bear in the interest of every ambitious American woman who could muster it to acquire the Ambassadorial favor with royalty. Dawes, who went through his necessary official appearance at Court in evening dress, was irked by the campaigns conducted by Americans for that introduction which would compel social prestige back home. The annoyance grew as the selections of candidates were finally made at the Embassy and approved by royal London. But it was not until a month after the presentations that Dawes broke the silence that Americans were beginning to believe was permanent. The presentations at Court came in May. On June 6 the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him at Cambridge and at a dinner given to the Honorary Graduates by the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, the American Ambassador responded for those who had been honored to a speech by the Master of the college.

"Reference has been made to the friendly relations of the two English-speaking peoples," Dawes said. "It exists, and why? It is not because of what Ambassadors may say or do. It is not because of what self-appointed spokesmen of the peoples of either country may say or do. If it were, with the generous sprinkling of nationalistic

demagogs in the public life of both countries there could be no such thing as permanent good relations. The friendly attitude of the two English-speaking peoples exists because of a blood tie, and thus rests upon a foundation as immoveable as the Rock of Gibraltar.

"I have the honor to represent in this country the Government of a people of over 120 million population, of whom about half are of British descent. In my country, therefore, there are at least 10 million more people of British descent than live in the island of Britain itself. The history of this portion of my people up to three hundred years ago is the history of the British people, their traditions are the traditions of the British people; and through the last three hundred years as well, they have preserved the British traditions of free government, of minority and individual rights, of law and order, and of liberty under law.

"As American Ambassador I come frequently into contact with certain traveled Britons and Americans who are continual purveyors of the trivial and irritating in international relationship. They do not seem to have sensed the inevitable consequence of an existing tie of blood upon the permanent and fundamental attitude of the two peoples.

"But we have recently had in London a body of American travelers representing a cross-section of

the American people, representing the heart and soul of the American people, the bone and sinew of the American people, and the proud attitude of the American people, a body of travelers not self-invited, with their minds occupied by thoughts of society reporters or fashionable dress-makers, but mothers invited by the Government of the United States to make their first and last visit to the graves of their sons in France who fell in the 27th and 30th Divisions of the American army, fighting under British command by the side of their comrades of the British army. They brought no social introductions. The credentials which each carried were but the photograph of a son and a few withered flowers from a garden at home to lay on a grave in France. They needed no more. The heads of many of them were grey and the years had left them feeble, but the heart beats of two great peoples were keeping time with their footsteps. As Ambassador of the United States I met them at Westminster Hall where they were assembled at the invitation of the British Government. That, to me, was the proudest hour of my sojourn here. There I presented the best representatives of my people to those who represented His Majesty the King, the British Legion, and the British people—most of them likewise personally bereaved, and they met with that emotion and affection which a common understanding, a

common suffering and a common blood alone make possible.

"I shall ever remember it, for then the strength of the tie between the English speaking peoples could be measured in its full and lasting strength. It is well for the world that this tie exists, for in the joint hands of those two peoples rests the ark of the covenant of human freedom."

While the American newspapers were commenting editorially upon that speech, Dawes again returned to Chicago for a week-end visit in his capacity of financial director of *A Century of Progress*. Will Rogers, whose impudence as a humorist is surpassed only by the sportsmanship displayed by the men and women who must swallow his jokes, visited Dawes at The Central Trust offices. Grinning broadly Rogers poked the Ambassadorial ribs.

"Let's hear you talk," Rogers said. "Want to find out how much of an accent you got."

The response was as entirely without the so-called English accent as the Ambassador's Chicago friends knew it would be after they had read his Cambridge speech.

He was the same old "Charlie" Dawes to them.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A TRIBUTE TO HIS SON, RUFUS FEARING DAWES, WRITTEN BY CHARLES G. DAWES, AND READ AT FUNERAL SERVICES, SEPTEMBER 7, 1912, BY THE REVEREND W. T. McELVEEN:

The most of those here assembled are the personal friends and acquaintances of my dear son. So far as the outer world is concerned, his promising life, cut off so early, must ever be wrapped in obscurity. But I, his father, owe him one last and solemn duty, to project the high lesson of his life as far as lies within my power, by using this last assemblage of his friends, when their minds and grieving hearts will the more indelibly receive the final impressions of his memory.

Rufus' business career covered his last four summer vacations, dedicated voluntarily by him to preparation for his life's work. Passionately fond of sports and of social recreation, to which the college work of the balance of the year legitimately entitled him, he gave them up and spent in the comparative solitude of a small engineering corps in western South Dakota his summer vacation of four years ago. Here he lived uncomplainingly a life of terrible hardship, without my knowledge until it was over. Every man in the corps went down with malignant typhoid fever. Rufus was the last man up, and for days, while suffering with the fever himself, took charge of and ministered to the balance of the camp, finally succeeding in moving them to a place of comparative comfort. He then temporarily collapsed, only to pull himself together again and, alone and sorely stricken, set out on the long journey home. It is hard to speak of the suffering of the fifty-mile wagon trip to the railroad station, of his long wait there, of the terrible railroad trip home when he was unable to sleep or eat, and of his final arrival, which was our first knowledge of his trouble. For weeks, without a word of complaint, he fought the fight of life and death, and then

when relief and apparent convalescence came, it was only to usher in a relapse for as long and severe a second attack.

Gaunt and haggard, yet happy and cheerful, he finally left the sick-room. He saved out of his compensation for his surveying work, over and above his expenses, the sum of sixty dollars. Of his own initiative and without suggestion, he devoted this money to the following purposes: He made a close contract with his friends in the wholesale department of Jevne & Company for twenty baskets of provisions at one dollar each, which, on Christmas day, he personally delivered at the houses of the poor. Of the remaining forty dollars he expended twenty dollars for a Christmas present for his sister, and kept twenty dollars for his personal use.

The next summer, with his dear friend Melvin Ericson, he went to Seattle and took a position in the gas company in which my brothers and I are interested. The superintendent, who is one of our personal friends, endeavored to persuade the lads to accept salaries large enough to enable them to live at the best hotel; but Rufus and Melvin declined upon the score that their services would not fairly command the sum offered, took a lesser one, and secured board and lodging elsewhere for twenty-five dollars per month each.

The next summer vacation Rufus spent in the wholesale plumbing establishment of his close friend, Donald Raymond. With his characteristic masterfulness, he announced to Donald that he would fix his own salary at sixty dollars per month, which he believed he could earn in the sales department. In this place each month he turned profits into the firm amounting to two or three times his salary.

This present summer he spent in the gas works at Chicago Heights under the tutelage of his friends, Walter F. Booth and Verne Cutler. During the hot summer days, with the temperature 110 degrees Fahrenheit in the gas house, Rufus Fearing learned to make gas. He also mastered gas analysis, and in the last week of his work was given charge of the entire plant.

The last two weeks of this present vacation, which proved to be the last two of his life, he gave up to recreation, with the great nervous energy with which he did everything.

But I pass now to the more important things. My boy was only in the beginning of his business career, while the career of which

I am to speak is complete. The Lord gave him ample time to fully and wholly complete it.

The truly great character must unite unusual strength and determination with great gentleness. My boy was imperious. He recognized no superior on earth, and yet was the tender and intimate friend of the weak and humble. I have taken him with me among the greatest in the nation and looked in vain for any evidence in him of awe or even curiosity. He has taken me, asking me to help them, among the poor and lowly of earth.

He loved his friends, and but recently told his mother that our house was all through the coming years to be the stopping place for his college friends passing through the city. How grateful our lonely hearts will be to them now if they will only accept this invitation and sleep in his room and fill for a little time the empty chair.

He commenced early in life to set himself against the crowd, for no man rises to real prestige who follows it. Of his own initiative, he joined the church. For a long time he taught a Bible class of boys at Bethesda mission. He did not smoke, nor swear, nor drink. He was absolutely clean. Yet, in his stern opposition to the drift, he mingled tolerance in just that quality which contributed to real power to be used in opposition, and for that purpose alone. He organized systematically rescue squads for weaker boys at college who were wavering before strong but evil leadership. Against the boy who sought to lead astray the weaker, he set his face like steel.

Like every born leader he had his many warm friends, but if Rufus Fearing ever had a bitter enemy I have yet to hear of him. His kindness, sincerity and good humor disarmed hatred. I never saw him angry. In twenty-one years he never gave me just cause for serious reproach.

He was absolutely natural in any environment, great or humble. He was extremely ambitious. He was extremely proud. Upon one occasion, years ago, when I mistakenly reproached him, he patiently explained my error and then peremptorily demanded and received an apology from me.

I have noticed that one of the characteristics of the thoroughbred is the refusal to accept or recognize a handicap, which he always regards as a self-confession of inferiority. The man who accepts a handicap is beaten before the race commences. In any matter to

which Rufus Fearing set himself seriously he saw no possible measure of his full abilities or efforts except in the leading contestant. He recognized no victory in a second or third prize. It was not altogether modesty which kept him so silent about his marked achievements, but because a high average of proficiency, which left the field far behind, only brought him into closer self-comparison with the few winners. The natural leader in life, while he keeps his head, keeps his eyes only on the runners in front, and not on the multitude behind. This is why the truly great are so often humble.

His mother and I never knew until we read it in the year book of Rufus' athletic successes at Lawrenceville, or that he was captain of the fencing team at Princeton, or that he had this or that distinction. He never talked about his achievements in any line of work, study or recreation, for the reason that he himself never regarded them as important, or worth while. But with almost reckless intrepidity he sought in his friendly conflicts a contact with any exceptional individual he could find. In the fact that contact means comparison he saw only the opportunity for taking his own full measurement, even though it might prove disappointing or defeat prove bitter.

But under these continuing and often disappointing contests, moral, physical and mental, there worked out under the inexorable laws of human nature, a splendid and complete young Christian gentleman. And the lesson of this complete life is that this can be done by a young man without his being a prig, without his failing to be a "good fellow," without his bending to debasing environment.

My boy lived long enough to "win out." Whatever the years would have added would be only material. In a man's character is his real career.

He died suddenly in the midst of happiness. He died with his high ideals unlowered. He died with all the noble illusions of a high-minded youth undisturbed and undispelled. He died without having lost ambition, with his eyes fixed on the high mountains of life, where, beyond any question, had he lived, he would have climbed.

But, dear young friends of my boy, he had already climbed the high and rough ways which lead up the steep mountain of character. He stood there firmly at the top. Mistake not. It was no easy victory. Material achievement may be both; but no moral victory is ever easy or ever accidental.

But yesterday strong and joyous in the full might and swing of buoyant youth, surrounded by his loving friends, the sun of his happiness high in the sky, Rufus Fearing was mercifully spared the sight of grim Death, whose unseen hand was even then upon his shoulder. But had this happy boy turned and seen him beckoning him away from the dear ones—from his home—from his parents and his sister—from the great battle field of life, with its fine victories to be won, you know and I know, that without complaint, clear-eyed, unafraid, in simple, unquestioning faith, with hope and trust in his Lord, my dear son would quietly have followed into the darkness of the shadow.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE VICE PRESIDENT, MARCH 4, 1925

What I say upon entering this office should relate to its administration and the conditions under which it is administered. Unlike the vast majority of deliberative and legislative bodies, the Senate does not elect its Presiding Officer. He is designated for his duty by the Constitution of the United States.

In the administration of this office his duty is to be concerned with methods of effective procedure as distinguished from any legislative policy of the body over which he presides. It is not for the Vice President to be personally concerned with the interests of political parties or with the policies or projects involved in legislative action, save in that unusual contingency where, under the Constitution, it becomes necessary for him to cast the deciding vote in case of a tie. Nor should he, in view of that unusual contingency, assume any attitude toward prospective legislation until the contingency occurs. Any other course would inevitably lessen the weight of his influence in those impartial and nonpartisan matters with which it is his duty, under the Constitution of the United States, to be concerned.

In my conduct I trust I may yield to no Senator in fairness, courtesy, and kindliness and in deference to those unwritten laws which always govern any association of gentlemen, whether official or private. It shall be my purpose not to transgress in any way those

limits to my official activity determined by the Constitution of the United States and by proper parliamentary procedure. But the Vice President, in part because he is not elected by the Members of this body, nor by a State, but by the people of the United States, and his constitutional and official relations are to the Senate as a whole, should always express himself upon the relation of its methods of transacting public business to the welfare of the Nation.

For him, therefore, to officially call to the attention of the Senate any collective duty such as an improvement in the method under which its business is carried on, so far from being an irrelevant and uncalled-for action on his part, is a supreme duty.

In past years, because the Members of this body have cherished most commendable feelings of fairness, courtesy, and consideration for each other as individuals, certain customs have been evolved. These have crystallized into fixed and written rules of procedure for the transaction of public business which, in their present form, place power in the hands of individuals to an extent, at times, subversive of the fundamental principles of free representative government. Whatever may be said about the misuse of this power under the present rules of the Senate, the fact remains that its existence, inimical as it is to the principles of our constitutional government, can not properly be charged against any party, nor against any individual or group of individuals. It has evolved as a natural consequence of the mutual confidence of high-minded men, determined that in their official association as Members of the Senate, full and fair opportunity to be heard on all public questions shall be enjoyed by each and every Senator, irrespective of whether or not they are in the minority, either of opinion or of party.

But however natural has been the evolution of the present rules, however commendable that existing desire on the part of all that the rights of each individual Senator should be observed, the fact remains that under them the rights of the Nation and of the American people have been overlooked—and this, notwithstanding that their full recognition of the rights of the nation are in no wise inconsistent with the recognition of every essential right of any individual Senator.

What would be the attitude of the American people and of the individual Senators themselves toward a proposed system of rules if this was the first session of the Senate of the United States in-

stead of the first session of the Senate in the Sixty-ninth Congress? What individual Senator would then have the audacity to propose the adoption of the present Rule XXII without modification when it would be pointed out that during the last days of a session the right that is granted every Senator to be heard for one hour after two-thirds of the Senate had agreed to bring a measure to a vote, gave a minority of even one Senator, at times, power to defeat the measure and render impotent the Senate itself? That rule, which at times enables Senators to consume in oratory those last precious minutes of a session needed for momentous decisions, places in the hands of one or of a minority of Senators a greater power than the veto power exercised under the Constitution by the President of the United States, which is limited in its effectiveness by the necessity of an affirmative two-thirds vote. Who would dare to contend that under the spirit of democratic government the power to kill legislation providing the revenues to pay the expenses of government should, during the last few days of a session, ever be in the hands of a minority or perhaps one Senator? Why should they ever be able to compel the President of the United States to call an extra session of Congress to keep in functioning activity the machinery of the Government itself? Who would dare oppose any changes in the rules necessary to insure that the business of the United States should always be conducted in the interests of the Nation and never be in danger of encountering a situation where one man or a minority of men might demand unreasonable concessions under threat of blocking the business of the Government? Who would dare maintain that in the last analysis the right of the Senate itself to act should ever be subordinated to the right of one Senator to make a speech?

The rules can be found, as is the custom in other deliberative and legislative assemblies, to fully protect a Senator in his right to be heard without forfeiting at any time the greater right of the Senate to act. The Constitution of the United States gives the Senate and the House of Representatives the right to adopt their own rules for the conduct of business, but this does not excuse customs and rules which, under certain conditions, might put the power of the Senate itself in the hands of individuals to be used in legislative barter. Proper rules will protect the rights of minorities without surrendering the rights of a majority to legislate.

Under the inexorable laws of human nature and human reaction, this system of rules, if unchanged, can not but lessen the effectiveness, prestige, and dignity of the United States Senate. Were this the first session of the Senate and its present system of rules, unchanged, should be presented seriously for adoption, the impact of outraged public opinion, reflected in the attitude of the Senators themselves, would crush the proposal like an egg shell. Reform in the present rules of the Senate is demanded not only by American public opinion, but I venture to say in the individual consciences of a majority of the Members of the Senate itself.

As it is the duty on the part of the Presiding Officer of the Senate to call attention to defective methods in the conduct of business by the body over which he presides, so, under their constitutional power, it is the duty of the Members of this body to correct them. To evade or ignore an issue between right and wrong methods is in itself a wrong. To the performance of this duty, a duty which is nonpartisan, a duty which is nonsectional, a duty which is alone in the interest of the Nation we have sworn to faithfully serve, I ask the consideration of the Senate, appealing to the conscience and to the patriotism of the individual Members.

SPEECH BY CHARLES G. DAWES ACCEPTING REPUBLICAN NOMINATION AS CANDIDATE FOR VICE PRESIDENT, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS, AUGUST 19, 1924.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I accept the nomination of the Republican party for the office of Vice President, of which you now formally notify me.

The formal notification of the candidates of the political parties has established the custom of discussion by them of the issues of the campaign.

This campaign is a campaign of domestic issues, and in the campaign I shall try to discuss them fully, but I cannot cover them all in one speech and say what I want to say. Political issues in the

United States have become too serious to trifle with, and its citizens realize it. The discussion of facts and truth is demanded, and that takes time. This is a campaign of brass tacks—not bombast.

This administration has reduced the cost of governmental operation, and it was not an accident. It did this by firmly assuming executive control of the business organization of government and by hard work—not by oratory. As a result, under our new tax law, approximately $6,000,000 per day less for national purposes, will be collected in 1925 from the taxpayers, than for the fiscal year of 1921, and our public debt has been reduced during the budget years, under this administration, in the sum of $2,722,396,331.49. In 1921, the last pre-budget year, of the cost of government collected in national, state, and municipal taxes, after debt payment, our federal expenditures were 59 per cent and those of the states, cities and towns, 41 per cent, but in 1923 the federal government took only 28 per cent of the taxes, and 72 per cent was spent by the states, cities and towns.

These figures indicate that in the matter of economy and tax reduction the federal government is headed in the right direction, and most of the states, cities and towns of our country in the wrong direction.

The administration, in lowering the enormous amount of federal taxation, has lessened the drain from the pockets of the people and from the capital actively employed in productive industry.

President Coolidge, with fearless common sense and full knowledge of the facts and circumstances surrounding important decisions, endeavors to do the right and wise thing in the interests of the nation, uninfluenced by motives of political expediency. He courageously recommended the recognition of right principles in the tax reduction bill, indifferent to the demagogs who represent to the unthinking that those who lightened the burden on their backs sought to betray them in the method of unloading. But statesmanship, braving temporary criticism and misrepresentation of right purpose, is always decorated with the eventual vindication which comes with full understanding on the part of the public.

This subject of public economy, the subject of relief from taxation, and of an adequate tariff for the protection of our national prosperity, I will discuss upon other occasions. The nonpartisan and economic agricultural question is a national question of such vital importance and so affecting national welfare, that it demands fuller

consideration than is here possible. I shall discuss it in my speech at Lincoln, Neb., on Aug. 29.

I will therefore cover, however shortly, in this speech of acceptance, only three issues: One which I deem of the utmost importance, and two others—the league of nations and the world court.

The league of nations, however noble may have been its intentions, was not approved by the people of the United States because it did not make clear to their minds that it did not encroach upon the sovereignty and the power and right of independent decision of the United States, as to its own duty and action under all circumstances.

While many men, after study, believed that the league of nations did not encroach upon the sovereignty and right of independent decision of the United States, the fact that there was a just doubt as to this stamped the plan as one which could not be accepted by the citizens of the United States.

Our people, by an enormous majority in 1920, fearing entanglement in foreign difficulties, properly decided that they would not trust their future to a document involving a question so momentous, which needed a lawyer's explanation to be read with the instrument itself. And that mandate of the people, so clearly and forcibly expressed, must be respected and obeyed.

Perhaps if those who drew the league of nations plan had felt it incumbent upon them to make its exact meaning as clear to the average man as to those who drew it, the United States might have been spared immersion for five years in the immense fog bank of the debate upon the league of nations. But they did not do so.

The Republican platform is right in assuming that the United States, in its own interests and the interests of the world, if it is to play its part and perform its duty in international matters, must do so outside of membership in the league of nations.

The position taken by the Democratic platform upon the league of nations is an invitation to again enter that fog of debate in a public referendum, for which there exists neither law nor procedure, which means that the program of the present administration of constructive action for the United States in its foreign relations becomes paralyzed in a time of crisis in the world's affairs, when action rather than debate is demanded in the interests of all civilization.

In the United States, in regard to the question of foreign relations,

general public opinion seems to have settled upon two great fundamental principles: first, that whatever be our form of contact and conference with foreign nations, the independence and sovereignty of the United States, with the right to determine its own course of action, must at all times, and under all circumstances, not only be preserved by it, but recognized by all other nations; and second—that, with its sovereignty always unimpaired, the United States should undertake to meet its international duties unflinchingly, exhibiting no moral cowardice and welcoming, in the interests of universal peace and progress, that contact with other nations by which alone relevant facts can be fully developed and common sense methods adopted for the solution of questions of common interest.

With these two great principles in mind, and taking things as they were, the present administration, under President Harding and President Coolidge, entered upon a constructive policy for the United States in its international relations, which is giving our nation its place of leadership in the betterment of the world.

The four-pact naval treaty was the first great accomplishment of this policy, insuring peace upon the Pacific, reducing the burdens of taxation upon the peoples by stopping competitive increases in navies, and creating a precedent for dealing with the question of international disarmament in the future.

It was in pursuance of this constructive foreign policy also, when the allies resolved to summon an expert committee—a course which Secretary Hughes had long before recommended—to prepare a plan which might form a basis for the settlement of the reparation problem, that President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes approved the invitation of the allies to Americans to assist in the work. They not only approved this call of the allies from distressed Europe that Americans assist in its time of great crisis, but gave specific advice as to the men to be invited, thus giving them, in the eyes of Europe, as they had in fact, the background of the Stars and Stripes and the American people.

Our opponents have referred to this as an act of cowardice. Upon what theory was it an act of cowardice? If the work of that mission was not now recognized as having been of some assistance, or if the experts' plan had signally failed to offer anything of value to the world, President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes would have been denounced as men who had humiliated their country instead of en-

deavoring to put it in its proper and helpful place with the fearlessness which should adorn strength and the Christian purpose which should glorify it. If the President and the Secretary of State had evaded this duty and precipitated the question of official representation for debate, delay, and non-action, into the United States Senate, the United States would have had no part in the last desperate but successful effort to find a common ground of agreement for a new peace in the world, if indeed, but for their action, there would have been any agreement at all.

Had it not been for this attitude of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes toward the expert committee, Europe might not to-day be facing away from the chaos and hatred of war. With the experts' plan inaugurated, France, England, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and all Europe turn toward a new and peaceful life, with hope and happiness, rather than despair, in their hearts and prosperity ahead. The United States will be saved from the depths of an inevitable and great depression in industry and agriculture which the continued chaos and misery of Europe would entail. Indeed the whole world enters upon a period of peace and prosperity.

Under President Harding and President Coolidge, again in pursuance of this constructive foreign policy, there has been urged upon the nation membership in the world court. What a confused mass of argument, pro and con, as to our entrance into the world court has been created, not only by the political demagogs, but by some profoundly wise men! What, again, are the fundamental propositions which will determine eventual public sentiment in the matter of our adherence to the world court? As I said before, the people have in their minds principally but two things in regard to our foreign policy; first, they do not want any impairment of the right of sovereignty of the United States or its right to make a decision as to its own interests, by itself; and second, with that settled, they want the United States to do its duty in its international relations.

But in the propositions of President Coolidge in connection with the world court there is safeguarded the sovereignty of the United States and its interests.

In the fog of the argument to which the people of the United States are asked to listen on this subject they want to keep clearly in mind that even when we join the court we are not compelled to submit a case to it if we do not wish to do so. If any particular

case is one where our national interests seem to forbid legal arbitration, we are not bound to resort to the court. Because we help build the courthouse we do not have to try any cases in it unless, at the time, in any particular case, we desire to do it. But we must remember that sometimes when a house is built it may be a very convenient thing to go into to avoid rain and lightning. Yes, and probably avoid the thunderbolts of war! It is to our national interests and the interests of the world to have a court to use if its use is mutually desired by two nations in a given case.

These simple thoughts upon the world court and the obligations which we would assume by adherence to it are sufficient to relieve us from any fears of the bogymen and the smoke screen thrown up from behind political fences by the men who would drag this question of high purpose, of clear, simple and plain duty, into the mire of political demagogery. International problems are always susceptible of clear statement when thoughts of political expediency as to form of statement give way to the desire to plainly set forth truth.

Here we are, the greatest and most powerful nation on the face of the earth, possessing the capacity for world leadership. There may be people in the United States who fear that our representatives, when sent abroad, are not the peers, in patriotism and sense of duty, in ability and independence of character, of those whom they meet; they may believe that we should have a "crawfish" foreign policy; but the great majority feel that to whatever conference in foreign matters, which involves the interests of the United States our representatives may be sent they will ably and fearlessly uphold the honor of the American people and the American flag.

The American people are a proud people. They will tolerate no leadership which will surrender an iota of their independence or sovereignty to any other nation or combination of nations. Such an action on the part of any of our representatives would be regarded as treason and dealt with accordingly. But the man misjudges the temper and the fibre of American citizenship who maintains that it is not as fearless in trusting its representatives in any conflict of peace as it is in trusting its youth behind the flag in the war.

To morally rot in a policy of national isolation rather than to cleanly contest in those mental battlefields in which questions must be solved for the advancement of civilization, both here and

abroad—is that the temper of the American people? I think not!

The Republican platform on foreign relations outlines a policy which, carried out with the common sense, clear vision, and courage of Calvin Coolidge, offers the American people a constructive course of honor, safety, and progress for its own and the world's good. It offers the only policy which at the present time means the possibility of accomplishment.

In the matter of their foreign policy, therefore, the two major parties, in their platforms, have made an issue to be decided by the American people.

The Democratic party asks them to turn back with them into the morass of the debate on the league of nations, through a public referendum, thereby paralyzing the hope of constructive action and policy in this time of an existing world crisis.

The Republican party asks them to abandon the debate upon the question of the league of nations, which they have already decided, and to stand by the common sense and constructive foreign policy of President Coolidge and the Republican party, which is placing the United States in that proud position of world leadership for which she has been designed by Providence and from which she can be debarred only by reversion to political expediency.

It is in the heart and conscience of our people that great issues are defined and politicians align on them, but have little to do with selecting them. A formidable attack has been launched on the fundamental principles of our Constitution, and elemental things like this must be fought out.

One party—the Republican party, the party of progressive conservatism—under the leadership of President Coolidge, has taken its stand firmly upon the Constitution of the United States, and all know where it stands. Opposed to it, and in reality its chief opponent, though the result of the effort may be to deadlock the contest for the Presidency and make Bryanism succeed the Coolidge policy, is a movement of untried and dangerous radicalism. With a platform drawn by one man, designed to soften as much as possible the apprehensions as to what the movement really means, an attempt is made to induce those who are patriotic at heart but disconcerted with existing conditions, to join with the Socialists and other diverse elements opposing the existing order of things, in a mobilization of extreme radicalism. A man is known by the company he keeps.

In the words of The Associated Press of July 7, "The national convention of the Socialist party of America formally enrolled under the La Follette Presidential banner." What is this banner which confronts the flag of the United States, upheld by President Coolidge and his platform? In answer, I quote from the same dispatch of The Associated Press, from a telegram sent by Eugene V. Debs, reading in part: "I think it wise for our party to make no nominations under the circumstances, but at the same time to hold the Socialist party intact, adhere rigidly to its principles and keep the red flag flying." Says The Associated Press further: "The Debs sentiment echoed the opinions expressed in the debate by such party leaders as Morris Hillquit of New York, Representative Victor Berger of Wisconsin and Mayor Daniel Hoan of Milwaukee." Here is the battle alignment and here are the flags.

Lying between these two armies of progressive conservatism and of radicalism, which are properly aligned upon this issue in the minds and consciences of the American people, is interposed the Democratic party, with one conservative and one radical candidate on its ticket, hoping to get votes by avoiding the issue.

In this situation, for which the American people alone are responsible, the Democratic party, as a party, instead of recruiting itself from the two battle lines, will suffer only the fate which befalls those who try to straddle in a real fight.

We are face to face with an abnormal condition in this country, existing because of lack of respect for law, caused in part by widespread demagogery in legislative bodies, in part by the weakness of many of those commissioned to execute the law, and in part by the existence and activities of aggressive minority organizations behind selfish purposes.

In Congress, during the last few years, the American citizen has heard more demagogic utterances than have ever before characterized it. He has seen men running for Congress and the Senate, advocating in the same state at the same time, and irrespective of their inconsistency, increased wages for railroad labor and decreased railroad rates, and higher prices for beef on the hoof and lower prices for beef on the table.

It is not too much to say that from the average candidate for office, in either party, he must accept either evasion or a doctrine designed to please him and appeal to his prejudices, irrespective of

whether or not it tends to plunge the whole country into disaster.

He has seen the disposition on the part of political leaders and office holders to condone, in minority organization, acts of lawlessness. He has witnessed the stealing, on the part of the candidates, of the habiliments of a conservative party for election purposes, and then, after election, the betrayal of that party to those arrayed against fundamental principles of the Constitution.

The average man, with his sense of fair play, despises and condemns the man out to catch votes under false pretenses, and he feels that the desire of politicians to get votes in this way is endangering the fundamentals of this great republic.

As the enemies of the existing order of things group themselves for battle, the average good citizen knows that the elemental principles for which his forbears fought are at stake.

He demands a strong leadership, standing on the Constitution, and moving forward with law and order, common sense and high purpose, to combat strong leadership tending toward disintegration.

He has this in Calvin Coolidge and the platform on which he stands. Neither President Coolidge nor his party platform assumes that the Constitution of the United States is an outworn document of old-fashioned ideas, to be discarded for the principles of the new socialism.

Robert M. La Follette, leading the army of extreme radicalism, has a platform demanding public ownership of railroads and attacking our courts which are a fundamental and constitutional safeguard of American citizenship.

Our nation is asked to leave important constitutional moorings to embark again into those contests through which it has fought up to the establishment of good government. Through the war of the Revolution, through the Civil War, and through the World War, our people have struggled to establish and maintain our constitutional principles. They are asked to follow into an attack upon them, massed behind an aggressive personality, a heterogeneous collection of those opposing the existing order of things, the greatest section of which, the Socialists, flies the red flag; and into what? Into confusion and conflict of ideas and ideals and into the reopening of war upon those fundamental principles of human liberty and the inalienable rights of men which are giving in this country safety and opportunity to the humblest, and to establish which the blood of our forefathers was shed. This is the predominant issue in this campaign.

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